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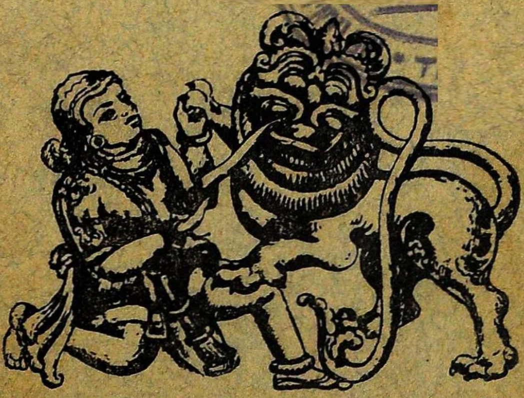

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PRIMITIVE MENTALITY

BY DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

"The myth is not my own, I had it from my mother."
—*Euripides*, fr. 488.

THERE is, perhaps, no subject that has been more extensively investigated and more prejudicially misunderstood by the modern scientist than that of folklore. By "folklore" we mean that whole and consistent body of culture which has been handed down, not in books but by word of mouth and in practice, from a time beyond the reach of historical research, in the form of legends, fairy-tales, ballads, games, toys, crafts, medicine, agricultural and other rites, and forms of social organisation, especially those that we call "tribal". This is a cultural complex independent of national and even racial boundaries, and of remarkable similarity throughout the world[1]; in other words, a culture of extraordinary vitality.

[1] "The metaphysical notions of man may be reduced to a few types which are of universal distribution" (Fr. Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, 1922, p. 156): for example "wherever the conception of a special kingdom of the dead, the opposite of the kingdom of the living, takes its rise, its situation is laid in the West. In the East arise light and the light of life: sun and life sink in the West" (Schmidt, *loc. cit.*, *infra*, p. 208).

The material of folklore differs from that of exoteric "religion", to which it may be in a kind of opposition, as it is in a quite different way to "science",[2] by its more intellectual and less moralistic content, and more obviously and essentially by its adaptation to vernacular transmission[3]: on the one hand, as cited above, "the myth is not my own, *I had it from my mother*," and on the other "the passage from a traditional mythology to 'religion' is a humanistic decadence."[4]

The content of folklore is metaphysical. Our failure to recognize this is primarily due to our own abysmal ignorance

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[2] The opposition of religion to folklore is often a kind of rivalry set up as between a new dispensation and an older tradition; the gods of the older cult becoming the evil spirits of the newer. The opposition of science to the content of both folklore and religion is based upon the view that "such knowledge as is not empirical is meaningless." The most ludicrous, and pathetic, situation appears when, as happened not long ago in England, the Church joins hands with science in proposing to withhold the fairy-tale from children as being *untrue*: it might have reflected that those who can make of mythology and fairy-lore nothing but *literature* will do the same with scripture.

[3] The words "adaptation to vernacular transmission" should be noted. Scripture recorded in a sacred language is not thus adapted: and a totally different result is obtained when scriptures originally written in such a sacred language are made accessible to the "*untaught manyfolk*" by translation, and subjected to an incompetent "free examination". In the first case there is a faithful transmission of material that is always intelligble, although not necessarily always completely understood: in the second, misunderstandings are inevitable. In this connection it may be remarked that "literacy", now-a-days thought of as almost synonymous with "education", is actually of much greater importance from an industrial than from a cultural point of view. What an illiterate Indian or American Indian peasant knows and understands would be entirely beyond the comprehension of the compulsorily educated product of the American public schools.

[4] Evola, J. *Rivolta contra il mondo moderno*, 1934, p. 374, Note 12. "For the primitives, the mythical world really existed. Or rather, it still exists" (Lévy-Bruhl, *L'Expérience mystique et les symboles chez les primitifs*, 1928, p. 295). One might add, that it will exist for ever in the eternal now of the Truth, regardless of the truth or error of history.

of metaphysics and of its technical terms. We observe, for example, that the primitive craftsman leaves in his work something unfinished, and that the primitive mother dislikes to hear the beauty of her child unduly praised ; it is " tempting Providence ", and may lead to disaster. That seems like nonsense to " us ". And yet there survives in our vernacular the explanation of the principle involved : the craftsman leaves something undone in his work for the same reason that the words " to be finished " may mean either to be perfected or to die.[5] Perfection is death : when a thing has been altogether fulfilled, when all has been done that was to be done, potentiality altogether reduced to act (*kṛtakṛtyaḥ*), that is the end : those whom the gods love die young. This is not what the workman desired for his work, nor the mother for her child. It can very well be that the workman or the peasant mother is no longer conscious of the meaning of a precaution that may have become a mere superstition : but assuredly we, who call ourselves anthropologists, should have been able to understand what was the idea which alone could have given rise to such a " superstition ", and ought to have asked ourselves whether or not the peasant by his actual observance of the precaution is not defending himself from a dangerous suggestion to which we, who have made of our existence a more tightly closed system, may be immune.

As a matter of fact, the destruction of superstitions invariably involves, in one sense or another, the death of the folk, or in any case the impoverishment of their lives. To take a typical case, that of the Australian aborigines, D. F. Thompson who has recently studied their remarkable initiatory symbols, observes that their " mythology supports the belief in a ritual or supernatural visitation that comes upon those who disregard or disobey the law of the old men. When this belief in the old men and their power—which, under

[5] Just as Sanskrit *pariṇiroā* is both " to be completely despirated " and " to be perfected " (see my " Some Pāli Words," *HJAS*, 1939, **4**, pp. 156–63). The Buddha's *parinibbāṇa* is a " finish " in both senses.

tribal conditions I have never known to be abused—dies, or declines, as it does with 'civilisation', chaos and racial death follow immediately."[6] The world's museums are filled with the traditional arts of innumerable peoples whose culture has been destroyed by the sinister power of our industrial civilisation: peoples who have been forced to abandon their own highly developed and beautiful techniques and significant designs in order to preserve their very lives by working as hired labourers at the production of raw materials: as Handy, for example, remarks of the peoples of the Marquesas Islands that "their culture has been almost entirely destroyed by the devastating activity of the white man."[7] Not only does the apostle of modern civilisation fail to realise the extent to which the life of his own people has been impoverished, but as little does he realise that the "white man's burden", of which he speaks with so much unction, is the burden of death. He feels no responsibility, and speaks rather as a helpless puppet than as a man when he says "However much Indian art may be injured or individuals suffer, progression,

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[6] *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 25, 1939.

[7] Handy, W. C., *L'art des Îles Marquises*, 1938, p. 13; *cf.* P. H. Buck, *Anthropology and Religion*, New Haven, 1939; and T. E. Williams, *Drama of Orokols*, Oxford, 1940.

A traditional civilization presupposes a correspondence of the man's most intimate nature with his particular vocation (see René Guénon, "Initiation and the crafts," in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, VI, 1938). The forcible disruption of this harmony poisons the very springs of life and creates innumerable maladjustments and sufferings. The representative of "civilization" cannot realise this, because the very idea of vocation has lost its meaning and become, for him, a "superstition": the civilized man, being himself a kind of economic slave, can be put, or put himself, to any kind of work that occasion seems to denand, in total disregard of his individual character, cannot understand that to rob a man of his hereditary vocation is precisely to take away his "living" in a far more profound than merely economic sense. The "native" victim of industrial exploitation is not even left with that "free choice" of a vocation which the proletarian vainly supposes that he has obtained in exchange for his birthright!

in line with the manufacturing enterprise of civilisation, must be allowed free course ".[8] At the same time, modern scholars, with some honourable exceptions, have as little understood the content of folklore as did the early missionaries understand what they thought of only as the " beastly devices of the heathen " ; Sir J. G. Fraser, for example, whose life has been devoted to the study of all the ramifications of folk belief and popular rites, has only to say at the end of it all, in a tone of lofty superiority, that he was " led on, step by step, into surveying, as from some specular height, some Pisgah of the mind, a great part of the human race ; I was beguiled, as by some subtle enchanter, into inditing what I cannot but regard as a dark, a tragic chronicle of human error and folly, of fruitless endeavour, wasted time and blighted hopes "[9]—words that would seem to apply rather to a view of modern European civilisation than to any view of tribal society !

The distinctive characteristic of a traditional society is order.[10] The life of the community as a whole and that of the individual whatever his special function may be, conforms to recognized patterns, of which no one questions the validity : the criminal is much rather the man who does not *know* how

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[8] Sir George Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*, 1904, p. 272.

[9] From the Preface to *Aftermath* : one is reminded of Professor Lanman's famous designation of the Brāhmaṇas as " puerile, arid, inane " (*Sanskrit Reader*, p. 357) and to which Max Müller referred as " simply twaddle ". As R. N. R. Sarma has remarked in the *Aryan Path*, 1938, p. 413, " If anthropological investigations and researches just stopped with an exhibition of the superiority-complex, they would be ignored or condemned " ; they have, nevertheless in many cases a documentary value, and sometimes rise above the level of these lucubrations.

[10] " What we mean by a normal civilization is one that rests on principles, in the true sense of this word, and one in which all is ordered and in a hierachy consistent with these principles, so that everything is seen to be the application and extension of a purely and essential intellectual or metaphysical doctrine : that is what we mean when we speak of a "traditional civilisation " (René Guénon, *Orient et Occident*, 1924, 235).

to behave, than a man who is unwilling to behave.[11] In other words, the traditional society is an unanimous society, and as such is to be contrasted with a democratic and individualistic society in which the major problems are decided by a majority and minor problems by each individual for himself.

It is often supposed that in a traditional society, or under tribal or clan conditions, which are those in which a culture of the folk flourished most, the individual is arbitrarily compelled to conform to the patterns of life that he actually follows. It would be truer to say that under these conditions the individual is devoid of social ambition. It is very far from true that in traditional societies the individual is regimented: it is only in democracies, soviets and dictatorships that a way of life is imposed upon the individual from without.[12]

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[11] " Sin " (Skr. *āgas*) is then really an awkwardness, a defect, the consequence of an ignorance. On the other hand, the traditional life, a *mārgya* and *svargya* procedure, is conducted in the same way that a rite is performed; it is not without good reason that Sanskrit *karma* applies equally to a ritual operation, to any kind of making, and to any kind of doing. What matters, then, in life as in the ritual art, is that whatever is done be done correctly, in " good form ". What is not important is how one *feels* about the work to be done or life to be lived: all such feelings being tendenzious and self-referent. But if, over and above the *correct* performance of the rite or any action, one also understands its form, if all one's actions are conscious and not merely instinctive reactions provoked by pleasure or pain, whether anticipated or felt, this awareness of the underlying principles is immediately dispositive to spiritual freedom. In other words, wherever the action itself is correct, the action itself is symbolic, and provides a discipline, or path, by following which the final goal must be reached: and on the other hand, whoever acts informally, having opinions of his own, and " knowing what he likes ", is reducing his person to the measure of his individuality.

[12] A Democracy is a government of all by a majority of proletarians: a Soviet, a government by a small group of proletarians; and a Dictatorship, a government by a single proletarian. In the traditional and unanimous society there is a government by a hereditary aristocracy, the function of which is to maintain an existing order, based on eternal principles, rather than to impose the views or arbitrary will (in the most technical sense of the words, a *tyrannical* will) of any individual party.

In the unanimous society the way of life is self-imposed in the sense that "fate lies in the created causes themselves", and this is one of the many ways in which the order of the traditional society conforms to the order of nature: it is in the unanimous societies that the possibility of self-realisation, that is the possibility of transcending the limitations of individuality, is best provided for. It is in fact for the sake of such a self-realisation that the tradition itself is perpetuated. It is here, as Jules Romains has said, that we find "the richest possible variety of individual states of consciousness, in a harmony made valuable by its richness and density",[13] words that are peculiarly applicable, for example, to Hindu society. In the various kinds of proletarian government, on the other hand, we meet always with the intention to achieve a rigid and inflexible uniformity,—all the forces of "education", for example, are directed to this end: it is a national, rather than a cultural type that is constructed, and to this one type everyone is expected to conform, at the price of being considered a peculiar person, or even a traitor. The explanation of this difference is to be found in the fact that the order that is imposed on the individual from without in any form of proletarian government is a *systematic* order, not a "form" but a cut and dried "formula", and generally speaking a pattern of life that has been conceived by a single individual or some school of academic thinkers ("Marxians", for example): while the pattern to which the traditional society is conformed by its own nature, being a metaphysical pattern, is a consistent but not a systematic form, and can therefore provide for the realisation of many more possibilities and for the functioning

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[13] As remarked by J. Evola, "In a mediæval feudalism and imperialism, or any other civilization of the traditional type, unity and hierarchy can co-exist with a maximum of individual independence, liberty, affirmation and constitution" (*Rivolta contra il Mondo Moderno* Milan, 1934, p. 112). But, as Mr. Hocart has said: "Hereditary service is quite incompatible with the industrialism of today, and that is why the system of caste is always painted in such dark colours" (*Les Castes*, Paris, 1939, p. 238).

of many more kinds of individual character than can be included within the limits of any system.

The actual unity of folklore represents on the popular level precisely what the doctrine of the élite represents in a relatively learned environment. The relation between the popular and the learned metaphysics is, moreover, analogous to and partly identical with that of the lesser to the greater mysteries. To a very large extent both employ one and the same symbols, which are taken more literally in the one case and in the other understood parabolically: for example, the "giants" and "heroes" of popular legend are the titans and gods of the more learned mythology, the seven-leagued boots of the hero correspond to the strides of an Agni or a Buddha, and "Tom Thumb" is no other than the Son whom Eckhart describes as "small, but so puissant". So long as the material of folklore is transmitted, so long is the ground available on which the superstructure of full initiatory understanding can be built.

Let us now consider the "primitive mentality" that so many anthropologists have studied: the mentality, that is, which manifests itself in such normal types of society as we have been considering, and to which we have referred as "traditional". Two closely connected questions must first be disposed of. In the first place, is there such a thing as a "primitive" or "alogical" mentality distinct from that of civilised and scientific man? It has been taken for granted by the older "animists" that human nature is a constant, so that "if we were in the position of the primitives, our mind being what it is now, we should think and act as they do."[14] On the other hand, for anthropologists and psychologists of the type of Lévy-Bruhl there can be recognized an almost specific distinction between the "primitive" mentality and "ours". The explanation of the possibility of disagreement in such a matter has much to do with the belief in progress, by which in fact all our conceptions of the history

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[14] G. Davy, "Psychologie des primitifs d'après Lévy-Bruhl," *Journ. de Psychologie normale et pathologique*, XXVII, 1931, p. 112.

of civilisation are distorted.[15] It is too readily taken for-granted that "we" have progressed, and that any contemporary savage society in all respects fairly represents the socalled primitive mentality, and overlooked that many characteristics of this mentality can be studied as well at home as in any African jungle: the point of view of the Christian or Hindu, for example, is in many ways nearer to that of the "savage" than to that of the modern bourgeoisie. What real distinction of two mentalities can be made is, in fact, the distinction of a modern from a Mediæval or Oriental mentality: and this is not a specific distinction, but one at sickness from health.[16] It has been said of Lévy-Bruhl that he is a past master in opening up what is to us "an almost inconceivable" world: as if there were none amongst us to whom the mentality reflected in our own immediate environment were not equally "inconceivable".

We shall consider, then the "primitive mentality" as described, very often quite accurately, by Lévy-Bruhl and other psychologist-anthropologists. It is characterised in the

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[15] In speaking of progress and decadence, we are of course referring to an intellectual and not a material progress or decadence: and mean by "intellect" by no means a mere knowledge of facts or even the deduction of statistical "laws" from such facts, but what has been defined as "the habit of first principles",—*intellectus vel spiritus*. It is with respect to the intellectual, or spiritual powers of humanity that we hold that, alike in savage and in civilized societies, a decadence is evident, and that the vestiges of a mentality operating normally on higher levels of reference than our own have been better preserved in folklore and in savage societies than in our middle class "cultures". Even an anthropologist such as Boas can say that it does not seem plausible to him that the hereditary mental faculty has been improved by civilization (*The Mind of Primitive Man*, 1922, p. 156).

[16] Accordingly "instead of bringing the primitives to us to be explained, we ought to try to return to them in order to understand them" (G. Davy, *loc. cit.*). One can only explain what one is, not what one merely observes. To speak at all in "Primitive" terms, one must be accustomed to *think* in them.

first place by a "collective ideation";[17] ideas are held in common, whereas in a civilised group, everyone entertains ideas of his own.[18] Infinitely varied as it may be in detail, the folk literature, for example, has to do with the lives of heroes, all of whom, as Lord Raglan has shown in his book *The Hero*, meet with essentially the same adventures and exhibit the same qualities. It is not for one moment realised that a possession of ideas in common does not necessarily imply the "collective origination" of these ideas. It is admitted that what is true for the primitive mentality is unrelated to experience, *i.e.* to such "logical" experience as ours. Yet they are "true" to what the primitive "experiences". The criticism implied, for such it is, is exactly parallel to the art-historian's who criticises the primitive art as not being "true to nature"; and to that of the historian of literature, who demands from literature a psycho-analysis of individual character. The primitive was not interested in such trivialities, but thought in types. This, moreover, was his means of "education"; for the type can be imitated, whereas the individual can only be mimicked.

The next and most famous characteristic of the primitive mentality has been called "participation", or more specifically "mystical participation". A thing is not only what it

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[17] The anthropologist's "collective ideation" corresponds to the unanimism of traditional societies that has been discussed above; but with this important distinction that the anthropologist means to imply by his "collective ideation" not merely the common possession of ideas, but also the "collective orig nation" of these ideas: the anthropologist believing that there really are such things as popular creations are spontaneous inventions of the masses (and as M. René Guénon has remarked, "the connection of this point of view with the democratic prejudice is obvious").

[18] In a normal society one no more "thinks for oneself" than one has a private arithmetic. In a proletarian culture one does not think at all, but only entertains a variety of prejudices, for the most part of journalistic and propaganda origin, though treasured as one's "own opinions". A traditional culture presumes an entertainment of ideas, in which a private property is impossible.

is visibly, but also what it represents. Natural or artificial objects are not for the primitive, as they can be for us, arbitrary "symbols" of some other and higher reality, but actual manifestations of this reality:[19] the eagle or the lion, for example, is not so much a symbol or image *of* the Sun as it *is* the Sun in a likeness (the form being more important than the nature in which it may be manifested); and in the same way every house *is* the world in a likeness, and every altar situated at the centre of the earth; it is only because "we" are more interested in what things are than in what they mean, more interested in facts than in ideas, that this is "inconceivable" to us. Descent from a totem animal is not, then, what it appears to the anthropologist, a literal absurdity, but a descent from the Sun, the Progenitor and Prajāpati of all, in that form in which he revealed himself, whether in vision or in dream, to the founder of the clan. The same reasoning validates the Eucharistic meal; the Father-Progenitor is sacrificed and partaken of by his descendants, in the flesh of the sacred animal: "This is my body, take and eat."[20] So that as Lévy-Bruhl says of such symbols, "very often it is not their

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[19] *Cf.* "The lust of the goat is the bounty of God···When thou seest an Eagle, thou seest a portion of Genius" (William Blake).

[20] In the statement "In some cases we cannot easily tell whether the native thinks that he is in the actual presence of some (usually invisible) being, or that of a symbol" (Lévy-Bruhl, *L'experience mystique····chez les primitifs*, 206). "We" can only refer to such profane mentalities as are intended by our authors when they speak of "civilised" or "emancipated" man; it would not be true for a learned Catholic or Hindu to say that "This peculiarity of the symbols of the primitives creates a great difficulty for us", and one wonders why our authors are so much puzzled by the "savage", and not by the contemporary metaphysician. More truly, one does not wonder: it is because it is assumed that wisdom was born with *us*, and that the savage does not distinguish between appearance and reality; it is because we choose to describe the primitive religious cults as a "worship of nature",—we who are nature-worshippers indeed, and to whom the words of Plutarch are pre-eminently applicable, *viz.* that men have been so blinded by their powers of observation that they can no longer distinguish between Apollo and the Sun.

purpose to 'represent' their proto-type to the eye, but to facilitate a participation," and that "if it is their essential function to 'represent', in the full sense of the word, invisible beings or objects, and to make their presence effective, it follows that they are not necessarily reproductions or likenesses of these beings or objects".[21] The purpose of primitive art being entirely different from the æsthetic or decorative intentions of the modern "artist" (for whom the ancient motifs survive only as meaningless "art forms") explains its abstract character. "We civilised men have lost the Paradise of the 'Soul of primitive imagery' (*Urbildseele*). We no longer live among the shapes which we had fashioned within: we have become mere spectators, reflecting them from without."[22]

To have lost the art of thinking in images thus is precisely to have lost the proper linguistic of metaphysics and to have descended to the verbal logic of "philosophy". The truth is that the content of such an "abstract", or rather "principial", form as the Neolithic sun-wheel (in which *we* see only an evidence of the "worship of natural forces", or at most a "personification" of these forces), or that of the corresponding circle with centre and radii or rays, is so rich that it could only be fully expounded in many volumes, and embodies implications which can only with difficulty if at all be expressed in words: the very nature of primitive and folk art is the immediate proof of its essentially intellectual content. Nor does this only apply to the diagrammatic representations: there was actually nothing made for use that had not a meaning as well as an application: "The needs of the body and the soul are satisfied together."[23] The inventions are, in fact, the application of metaphysical principles to practical ends;[24]

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[21] Lévy-Bruhl, *L' expérience mystique*, pp. 174, 180.

[22] Schmidt, *Dawn of the Human Mind*, p. 7.

[23] Schmidt, *loc. cit.* p. 167.

[24] Observe that an "invention" is a "finding", and that the Sanskrit *vid*, the root of *veda*, "science", means both to "know" and to "find". The art by which a thing is made is a knowledge rather than a feeling.

and this is in perfect agreement with the doctrine that refers all of the fundamental inventions to an ancestral culture hero (in the last analysis a descent of the Sun), that is to say to a primordial revelation, and makes of the practice of an art a sacred rite. In these applications, however utilitarian their purpose, there was no need whatever to sacrifice the clarity of the original significance of the symbolic form: on the contrary, the aptitude and beauty of the artefact at the same time express and depend upon the form that underlies it. We can see this very clearly, for example, in the case of such an ancient invention as that of the "safety pin", which is simply an adaptation of a still older invention, that of the straight pin or needle having at one end a head, ring or eye and at the other a point; a form that as a "pin" directly penetrates and fastens material together, and as a "needle" fastens them together by leaving behind it as its "trace" a thread that originates from its eye. In the safety-pin, the originally straight stem of the pin or needle is bent upon itself so that its point passes back again through the "eye" and is held there securely, at the same time that it fastens whatever material it has penetrated.[25]

Whoever is acquainted with the technical language of initiatory symbolism (in the present case, the language of the "Lesser Mysteries" of the crafts) will recognize at once that the straight pin or needle is a symbol of generation, and the safety-pin a symbol of regeneration. The safety-pin is, moreover, the equivalent of the button which fastens things together, and is attached to them by means of a thread which passes through and again returns to its perforations, which correspond to that of the eye of the needle. The significance of the metal pin, and that of the thread that is left behind by the needle (whether or not secured to a button that corresponds to the eye of the needle) are the same: it is that of the "thread-spirit" (*sūtrātman*) by which the Sun connects all things to himself and fastens them; he is the primordial embroiderer

[25] It is noteworthy that the word "fibule" (fibula) in French surgical language means *suture*.

and tailor, by whom the tissue of the universe, of which our garments are an analogy, is woven on a living thread.[26]

For the metaphysician it is inconceivable that forms such as this, which express a given doctrine with mathematical precision, could have been "invented" without a knowledge of their significance. The anthropologist, it is true, will believe that such meanings are merely "read into" the forms by the sophisticated symbolist (one might as well pretend that a mathematical formula could have been discovered by chance or luck). But that a safety-pin or button is meaningless, and merely a convenience for us, is simply the evidence of our profane ignorance and of the fact that such forms have been "more and more voided of content on their way down to us" (Andrae); the scholar of art is not "reading into" these intelligible forms an arbitrary meaning, but simply reading their meaning, for this is their "form" or "life", and in it present regardless of whether or not the individual artist of a given period, or we, have known it or not. In the present case the proof that the meaning of the safety-pin had been understood can be pointed to in the fact that the heads or eyes of prehistoric fibulæ are regularly decorated with a repertoire of distinctively solar symbols.[27]

Inasmuch as the symbolic arts of the folk do not propose to tell us what things are like but, by their allusions, intend to refer to the ideas which are implied by these things, we may describe them as having an algebraic (rather than "abstract") quality, and in this respect as differing essentially from the veridical and realistic purposes of a profane and arithmetical art, of which the intentions are to tell us what things are like, to express the artist's personality and to evoke an emotional

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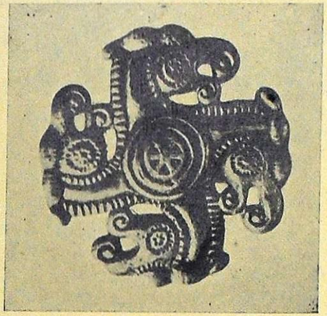
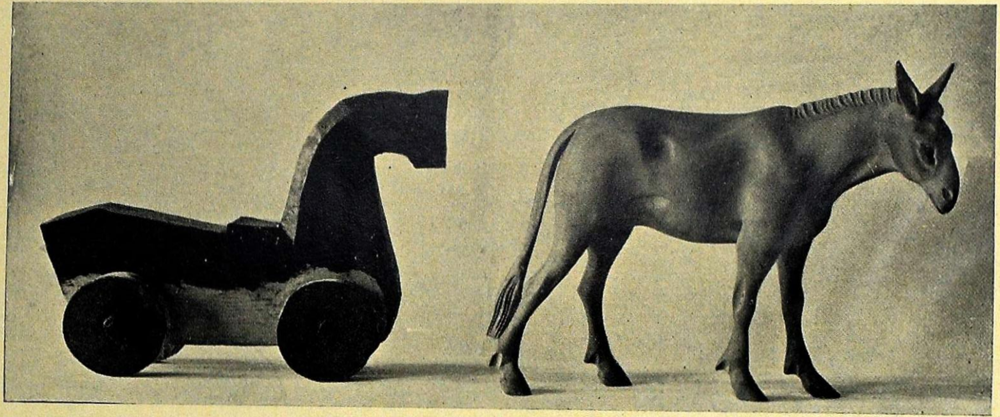
[26] "The Sun is the fastening (*āsañjanam*, one might even say "button") to whom these worlds are linked by means of the quarters . . . He strings these worlds to himself by a thread; the thread is the Gale of the Spirit" (*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI. i. 7. 17 and VI. ii. 7. 3. 10). We still speak of living substances as "tissues".

[27] See Chr. Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, Kobenhavn, 1926. The ornamentation of these fibulæ forms a veritable encyclopædia of solar symbols.



Sarmatian Sun-symbol, British Museum



Horse and Donkey: Folk and Bourgeois Art

reaction. We do not call the folk-art "abstract", because the forms are not arrived at by a process of omission; nor do we call it "conventional", since its forms have not been arrived at by experiment and agreement; nor do we call it "decorative" in the modern sense of the word, since it is not meaningless;[28] it is properly speaking a principia art, and rather a supernatural than a naturalistic art. The nature of the folk-art is, then, itself the sufficient demonstration of its intellectuality: it is, indeed, a "divine inheritance". We illustrate on the accompanying Plate two examples of folk-art and one of "bourgeois" art, to make it entirely clear that in the former the "art has to do with cognition" (St. Thomas Aquinas) and that in the latter the outstanding feature of the art is its informality, or in other words unintelligibility and ugliness. Fig. 1 is a Sarmatian "ornament", probably a horse trapping:[29] there is a central six-spoked wheel, around which revolve four equine protomas, also wheel-marked, forming a whorl or *svastika*; and it is abundantly clear that this is a representation of the divine "procession", the revolution of the Supernal Sun in a four-horsed and four-wheeled chariot; a representation such as this has a content evidently far exceeding that of later pictorial representations of an anthropomorphic "Sun", or human athlete, riding in a chariot actually drawn by four prancing horses. The two other illustrations are of modern Indian wooden toys: in the first case we recognize a metaphysical and formal art, and a type that can be paralleled throughout a millennial tradition, while in the latter the effect of European influence has led the artist, not to "imitate nature in her manner of operation",

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28 All the words that now mean "ornamented", or "ornament" in the sense of something added to the thing itself solely to make it attractive to the eye originally meant a due furnishing of the object with what its functions demand. Skr. *alaṁkṛta*, for example, is quite literally "satisfied", or "completed", and did not originally imply any useless addition to something already "put together", *saṁskṛta*. See my "Ornament", *Art Bulletin*, xxi, 1939.

29 Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

but simply to imitate nature in her appearances ; if either of these kinds of art can be called " naive ", it is certainly not the traditional art of the folk ! The contrast of the two, in fact, admirably illustrates Plutarch's ridicule of those who have been so far blinded by their powers of observation that they can no longer distinguish Apollo from the Sun " : a remark that would apply to a majority of " scientific " students of " the primitive mentality ", whose method of approach, as remarked by Sri Krishna Prem, is " incurably external ".

The characteristic pronouncements of anthropologists on the " primitive mentality ", of which a few may be cited, are often very remarkable, and may be said to represent not what the writers have intended, the description of an inferior type of consciousness and experience, but one intrinsically superior to that of the " civilised " man, and approximating to that which we are accustomed to think of as primordial. For example, " The primitive mind experienced life as a whole.... Art was not for the delectation of the senses."[30] Dr. Mecalister actually compares what he calls the " Ascent of Man " to Wordsworth's *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality* ; not realising that the poem is the description of a descent or materialisation of consciousness.[31] Schmidt remarks that " In 'heathenish' popular customs, in the 'superstitions' of our folk, the spiritual adventures of prehistoric times, the imagery of primitive insight, are living still ; *a divine inheritance*.... Originally every type of soul and mind corresponds to the physiological organism proper to it....The world is conceived as being partner with the living being, which is unconscious of its individuality ; as being an essential portion of the Ego ;

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[30] E. Baldwin Smith, *Egyptian Architecture*, 1938, p. 27.

[31] Preface to R. R. Schmidt, *Dawn of the Human Mind*, 1936. It should be observed that the customary virtual identification of the " childhood of humanity " with the childhood of the individual, that of the mind of Crô-Magnon man with his " fully developed forehead" (Schmidt, p. 209) with that of the still sub-human child, is entirely fallacious. That the child can in certain respects be used as an adequate symbol of the primordial state in the sense that " of such is the Kingdom of Heaven "—is quite another matter.

and it is represented as being affected by human exertion and sufferings....Nature-man lives his life in images. He grasps it in his conception as a series of realities. His visions are therefore not only real; they form his objective insight into a higher world....The talent, in the man of understanding, is only obstructed, more or less. Artistic natures, poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, seers, who see God face to face, remain all their lives eidetically rooted in their creations. In them there lives the folk-soul of dissolving images in their most perfect creative form....Natural man, to whom vision and thought are identical....The man of magic....is still standing in a present world which includes the whole of primeval time....(On the other hand) the emancipated man, vehicle of a soul....differentiates the original magical somato-psychic unity....Outward and Inward, World and Ego, become a duality in the consciousness."[32]

If it is difficult for us to understand the primitive belief in the efficacy of symbolic rites, it is largely because of our limited knowledge of the prolongations of the personality, which forces us to think in terms of a purely physical causality. We overlook that while we may believe that the anticipatory

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[32] R. R. Schmidt, *Dawn of the Human Mind*, pp. 1, 13, 89, 126, 212 f. The final sentence contrasts most poignantly with Plato's famous prayer, "Grant to me that I may become beautiful within, and that my outward and my inner man may be in fond accord" (*Phædrus*, 278 C.), *cf. Bhagavad Gītā*, VI. 5·6, on friendship or enmity between the empirical and the essential "self". Schmidt is referring, of course, to the clear distinction of subject from object which ordinary "knowledge" presupposes; it is precisely this kind of "knowing" that is, from the standpoint of traditional metaphysics, an *ignorance*, and morally, an "original sin" of which the wages are death (Genesis, III).

The remarkable expressions of Schmidt (the italics are mine) are tantamount to the definition of the modern, civilised "man of understanding" as an atrophied personality, out of touch with his environment. That he also envisages an *ascent* of man can only mean that he regards the "seers, who see God face to face" and in whom the folk-soul survives, as belonging to a strictly atavistic and inferior type of humanity, and thinks of the "divine inheritance" as something to be gotten rid of as soon as possible.

rite has no physical effect in the desired direction, the rite itself is the formal expression of a will directed to this end, and that this will, released by the performance of the rite, is also an effective force, by which the environment in its totality must be to some extent affected. In any case, the preliminary rite of "mimetic magic" is an enactment of the "formal cause" of the subsequent operation, whether it be the art of agriculture or that of war that is in question, and the artist has a right to expect that the actual operation, if carried out on this plan, will be successful. What seems strange to us, however, is that for the primitive mentality, the rite is a "prefiguration", not merely in the sense of a pattern of action to be followed, but in that of an anticipation in which the future becomes a virtually already existent reality, so that "the primitives feel that the future event is actually present": the action of the force released is immediate, "and if its effects appear after some time it is nevertheless imagined—or, rather, in their case, felt—as immediately produced."[33] M. Lévy-Bruhl goes on to point out very justly that all this implies a conception of time and space that is not in our sense of the words "rational": one in which both past and future, cause and effect, coincide in a present experience. If we choose to call this an "unpractical" position, we must not forget that at the same time "The primitives constantly make use of the real connection between cause and effect....they often display an ingenuity that implies a very accurate observation of this connection."[34]

Now it is impossible not be to struck by the fact that it is precisely a state of being in which "everywhere and every when is focussed" (Dante), that is for the theologian and the metaphysician "divine": that at this level of reference "all states of being, seen in principle are simultaneous in the eternal now", and that "he who cannot escape from the standpoint of temporal succession so as to see all things in their simultaneity is incapable of the least conception of the metaphysical

[33] Lévy-Bruhl, *La mentalité primitive,* pp. 290 and 88.

[34] Lévy-Bruhl, *Ibid.* p. 92.

order".[35] We say that what seems to "us" irrational in the life of "savages", and may be unpractical, since it unfits them to compete with our material force, represents the vestiges of a primordial state of metaphysical understanding: and that if the savage himself is, generally speaking, no longer a comprehensor of his own "divine inheritance", this ignorance on his part is no more shameful than ours who do not recognize the intrinsic nature of his "lore", and understand it no better than himself. We do not say that the modern savage exemplifies the "primordial state" itself, but that his beliefs, and the whole content of folklore, bear witness to such a state. We say that the truly primitive man—"before the Fall"—was, not by any means a philosopher or scientist but, by all means, a metaphysical being, in full possession of the *forma humanitatis* (as we are only very partially); that, in the excellent phrase of Baldwin Smith, he "experienced life as a whole".

Nor can it be said that the "primitives" are always unconscious of the sources of their heritage. For example, "Dr. Malinowski has insisted on the fact that, in the native Trobriand way of thinking, magic, agrarian or other, is not a human invention. From time immemorial, it forms a part of the inheritance which is handed down from generation to generation. Like the social institutions proper, it was created in the age of the myth, by the heroes who were the founders of civilisation. Hence its sacred character. Hence also its efficacy."[36] Far more rarely, an archæologist such as Andrae has the courage to express as his own belief that "When we sound the archetype, the ultimate origin of the form, then we find that it is anchored in the highest, not the lowest" and to affirm that "The sensible forms (of art), in which there was at first a polar balance of physical and metaphysical, have been more and more voided of content on their way down to us."[37]

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[35] René Guénon, *La metaphysique orientale*, pp. 15, 17.

[36] Lévy-Bruhl, *L'expérience mystique*, 295.

[37] Andrae, W. *Die ionische Saüle, Bauform oder Symbol?* 1938, Schlusswort.

The mention of the Trobriand Islanders above leads us to refer to one more type of what appears at first sight to imply an almost incredible want of observation. The Trobriand Islander, and some Australians, are reported to be unaware of the causal connection between sexual intercourse and procreation; they are said to believe that spirit-children enter the wombs of women on appropriate occasions, and that sexual intercourse alone is not a determinant of birth.[38] It is, indeed, implausible that the natives, "whose aboriginal endowment is quite as good as any European's, if not better"[39] are unaware of any connection whatever between sexual intercourse and pregnancy. On the other hand, it is clear that their interest is not in what may be called the mediate causes of pregnancy, but in its first cause.[40] Their position is essentially identical with that of the universal tradition, for which reproduction depends on the activating presence of what the mythologist calls a "fertility spirit" or "progenitive deity", and is in fact the Divine Eros, the Indian Kāmadeva and Gandharva, the spiritual Sun of *Ṛg Veda*, I. 115. 1, the life of all and source of all being; it is upon *his* "connection with the field"[41] that life is transmitted, as it is by the human

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38 M. F. Ashley-Montagu, *Coming into being among the Australian Aborigines*; B. Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, and *The Trobriand Islands.*

39 Ashley-Montagu, *loc. cit.*

40 "God, the master of all generative power" (Hermes, *Asclepius*, III. 21); "The power of generation belongs to God" (St. Thomas Acquinas, *Sum. Theol.* 1. 41. 5). In Gaelic incantations (see *Carmina Gadelica, loc. cit. infra*, Vol. II). Christ and the Virgin Mary are continually invoked as progenitive deities, givers of increase in cattle or man; the phrasings are almost verbally identical with those of Ṛg Veda, VII. 102. 2, "Who puts the seed in the plants, the cows, the mares, the women, Parjanya".

41 "The sun is the *ātman* of all that is motionless or mobile"; Ṛg Veda, 1. 115. 1. "Whatsoever living thing is of Knower born, whether motionless or mobile know that it is from the union of the Knower of the Field with the Field itself"; *Bhagavad Gītā*, XIII. 26. "It is inasmuch as He 'kisses' (breathes on) all his children that each can say 'I am'" (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 3 2. 12); "Light is the

"sower" that the elements of the corporeal vehicle of life are planted in *his* "field". So that as the *Majjhima Nikāya*, I. 265–66 expresses it, three things are required for conception, *viz.* conjunction of father and mother, the mother's period, and the presence[42] of the Gandharva: of which the two first may be called dispositive and the third an essential cause. We see now the meaning of the words of *Brihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 9. 28, "Say not 'From semen', but 'From what is alive (in the semen)'": "It is the Provident Spirit (*prajñātman*, *i.e.* the Sun) that grasps and erects the flesh" (*Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, III. 3); "The power of the soul, which is in the semen through the spirit enclosed therein, fashions the body" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, III. 32. 11). Thus, in believing with Schiller that "It is the Spirit that fashions the body for itself" (*Wallenstein*, III. 13) the "primitive" is in agreement with an unanimous tradition and with Christian doctrine: *Spiritus est qui vivificat : caro non prodest quicquam* ("it is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing", John VI. 63).[43] It would be hard to

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progenitive power" (*Taittirīya Samhitā*, VII. 1. 1. 1); "The Sun's rays are his children" (*Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, II. 9). In connection with the "Knower of the Field" it may be remarked that his "conjunction" (*samyoga*) with the "Field" is not merely cognitive but erotic: Skr. *jñā* in its sense of "to recognize as one's own", or "possess" corresponding to Latin *gnoscere* and English "know" in the Biblical expression "Jacob knew his wife". Now the solar manner of "knowing" (in any sense) is by means of his rays, which are emitted by the "Eye"; and hence in the ritual, in which the priest represents Prajāpati (the Sun as Father-Progenitor), he formally "looks at" the sacrificer's wife, "for insemination"; a metaphysical rite which the anthropologist would call a piece of "fertility-magic". See also my "Sunkiss" in *JAOS*. 60, 1940.

[42] For "to be present" the Pāli equivalent of Skr. *praty-upa-sthā*, "to stand upon" is employed: and this is the traditional expression, in accordance with which the Spirit is said to "take its stand upon" the bodily vehicle, which is accordingly referred as its *adhiṣṭānam*, or "standing ground" or "platform".

[43] That St. John is speaking with reference to a regeneration by no means excludes their application to any generation: for as

imagine a popular *origin* of such a doctrine, or that it could have been propounded in the beginning without a full understanding of its significance!

Aristotle's doctrine that "Man and the Sun generate man" (*Phys.*, II. 2),[44] that of JUB., 111. 14. 10 and that of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, may be said to combine the scientific and the metaphysical theories of the origin of life: and this very well illustrates the fact that the scientific and metaphysical points of view are by no means contradictory, but rather complementary. The weakness of the scientific position is, not that the empirical facts are devoid of interest or utility, but that these facts are thought of as a refutation of the intellectual doctrine. Actually, our discovery of chromosomes does not in any way account for the origin of life, but only tells us more about its mechanism. The metaphysician may, like the primitive, be incurious about the scientific facts: he cannot be disconcerted by them, for they can at the most show that God moves "in an even more mysterious way than we had hitherto supposed".

We have touched upon only a very few of the "motifs" of folklore. The main point that we have wished to bring out is that the whole body of these motifs represents a consistent tissue of interrelated intellectual doctrines belonging to a primordial wisdom rather than to a primitive science: and that for this wisdom it would be almost impossible to conceive

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exegetical theory insists, the literal sense of the words of scripture is also always true, and is the vehicle of the transcendental significance.

[44] To which correspond the words and those of a Gaelic incantation, "From the bosom of the God of life and, the courses together" (Carmichael, A., *Carmina Gadelica*, 1900, p. 119). In Egypt, similarly, "Life was an emanation of progenitive light and the creative word . . . The Sun, Râ, was the creator above all others, and the means of his creative power were his eye, the 'Eye of Horus', and his voice, the 'voice of heaven, the bolt'": the Pharoah was regarded as having been born, quite literally of the Sun and a human mother (Moret, *Du caractère religieuse de la royauté pharaonique*, Paris, 1902, pp. 40, 41).

a popular, or even in any ordinary sense of the words a human origin. The life of the popular wisdom extends backward to a point at which it becomes indistinguishable from the primordial tradition itself, the traces of which we are more familiar with in the sacerdotal and royal arts: and it is in this sense, and by no means with any "democratic" implications, that the lore of the people, expressed in their culture, is really the word of God,—*Vox populi vox Dei.*

THE BOYIS OF BARODA

By Dr. S. T. Moses, M.A., D.Sc., F.Z.S., F.R.A.I.

Introduction

Among the fishermen of the Baroda State, in whose advancement, I, as the Director of Fisheries, was interested, those of the Capital City and my Headquarters were naturally the first to come into close contact. The city being somewhat inland, has among its inhabitants only freshwater fishermen the Boyis and this paper[1] embodies the results of observations, etc., made during the two years since I began organising the Fisheries Department of the State. Thirty individuals had their cranial, etc., measurements taken.

The Caste and its Origin

The Boyis who are, like some fishing classes in South India, also, as a caste, palanquin-bearers, claim to be migrants from the north. Their legendary ancestor is Nathu Baba and the story explains their connection with fish and palanquins. Long long ago, when floods visited the earth and destroyed all mankind, a large fish saved one Nathu Baba by asking him 'to get inside'. There was water and nothing but water all over the earth and all men and beasts were dead. When at last water subsided, the fish bade Nathu to come out. He did so and climbed up a tree. Under this very tree Pārvathī and Shunker came to rest after their excursion, part of their daily programme. Shunker was hungry and so Pārvathī cooked the food and served it on two plates. No sooner did she do this than the plates which were only two became three! Amazed she collected all the food and served it again on two plates. But again there were three plates. Again she collected the food and served it on two plates but the miracle happened again. So Pārvathī told Shunker, 'I am sure the

[1] For some details recorded here I am indebted to my Assistant Mr. D. S. Dighe, B.A., B.Sc.

human race has not been wiped out. There is one man living somewhere and not very far'. They then easily traced Nathu Baba sitting above and invited him to come down and share the food. The meal was over and they resumed their walk. Pārvathī was, however, tired and so it was necessary to carry her. And as one man—Nathu—was not enough to do so, she made another of earth and breathed life into him. The two men then were able to carry Pārvathī in a hammock-like basket hung from a pole slung across their shoulders. The walk was then resumed. The palanquin-bearers walked so fast that Shunker was left far behind. So Pārvathī used her magic and the two bearers found it necessary to stop after every few steps and shift the pole from one shoulder to the other. This gave Shunker time to catch the party up.

The Caste and its Divisions

The Boyis claim to be Rajputs from somewhere in the region of Oude near Allahabad and Lucknow. Names of places like Barabanki and Nawabganj are still remembered. There are seven divisions among the caste, *viz.* Bakaraia, Bathma, Garidia, Gudia, Mali, Meta and Kahar. The Boyis of Baroda City are all Kahars. Mali, Gudia and Kahar have *Rotli vivahar* but not *Betti vivahar*, *i.e.* interdine but do not intermarry. The others neither eat together nor intermarry. The Boyis will never take food from any other caste, not even from Brahmins.

Occupations

PALANQUIN-BEARING

The original occupations of the Boyis were Fishing and Palanquin-bearing. As palanquin-bearers they have maintained the record early set up by their ancestor and his colleague by being able to go at a good trot of nearly four miles an hour. As they proceed, they ease their burden by a semi-musical chant which takes the form of a warning and reply. It does serve an useful purpose in that the men behind, who follow as it were blind, are warned what to expect, a stone, ditch or any other obstacle. The men in front sing *Chora He*—this

is a warning that there is dung lying on the path—or *Toker Jamma He* if there is a slight mound or some such obstacle, and the men behind reply equally musically *Ja Bache Ja* to assure those in front that their warning has been noted. Today palanquins have almost ceased to exist. *Palanquinity* which yielded to *gigmanity* in later days has done so in modern days to *carmanity*. Palanquins are now used only by members of the royal household or other high caste ladies, mostly *purdah*; they are in demand in processions, whether on marriage occasions or in temples, to carry the bridal pair or the gods and goddesses respectively.

Fishing

The Boyis carry on fishing in rivers and ponds, wherever fishing is not objectionable. The influence and power of the Jains (Shravaks) is such that it prevents these people from carrying on their traditional occupation. Inducements to fishermen by money payments to give up fishing are generally resorted to. Even where fishing rights are leased out, it appears that the lease may be taken but no actual fishing done. If, however, the lease is taken by fishermen themselves, they are bought off, and their inactivity is procured. Thus these Boyis find that the general atmosphere is not conducive to their following the ancestral calling.

Other Occupations

Vegetable-hawking, Water-carrying, Private Service, etc.

Thus the Boyis have been forced by circumstances to take to other vocations and are now porters, vegetable hawkers *bīdi* makers, household servants, water-carriers (*Bhisthis*), etc. Some have entered public service as watchmen, peons and in the military. They grow pond chestnuts and have also taken to agriculture.

Water-Chestnut Cultivation

The cultivation of the water-chestnut (*Shingoda*) needs patience for often the plants (*Trappa bicornis*) are attacked

by parasites mostly vermicular. The Boyi-private ponds, *e.g.* Mahjan and Mahmud tanks in Baroda, are taken on lease for fishing and *shingoda* cultivation—swims along resting on a float made of two empty kerosene tins tied together by a log—or the craft may consist of a pair of inverted earthen pots—and diligently clears the plants of the worms, after examining each and every leaf. The worms are crushed to death between his forefinger and thumb.

Fishing Gear

The Boyis fish in small streams, rivers, ponds, etc. using cast nets, stake nets, wall nets and drag nets. The cast nets or *Hath* (hand) *Jal* (net) are of two kinds, one small-meshed for Chela the silvery fish, named '*Saura Jal*' and the larger-meshed '*Chogia*' or '*Bummar Jal*'. The '*Chanta*' or '*Maha Jal*' is a wall net fixed across a stream and strengthened at intervals by stakes which need not necessarily be driven into the bottom of the river-bed but are fastened more by being tightened by a couple of ropes at either end. The floats used are empty kerosene or other tins and dried fruits (*Chorumla*). A similar but smaller meshed wall net '*Pandi*' is used as a drag net hauled by ropes against the stream. The '*Chafan*' is a similar drag net but is distinguished by the presence of a bag in the middle.

Night Fishing with Light Lures

Night fishing is more interesting, two kinds of nets, besides the cast net, being in use. Fishes are lured by light at nights usually during and shortly after the monsoons. The Boyis do night fishing in pairs, wading in pools and still places where the flood waters have overflowed the regular river banks. As they move along, one of them holds a whisp of burning hay near the surface of the water and while the fishes are drawn by the light to the top, his partner entraps them in the net. The ends of the Jamdanet which carries a piece of bamboo passing through both ends are held by the fishers each holding one end and as they move along, the pool is dredged. Often in the case of large fish like '*Raus*' a square net, the '*Kandia*'

is thrown over the fish as it shows itself on the water and the fish is then smartly beaten with a stick.

Boyis and Crocodiles

The proverb about the crocodile *Dhariyama rahevu ne Magar sathe Ver* the Gujarathi equivalent of 'It is hard to live in Rome and quarrel with the Pope' does not seem to apply to the Boyis who are so at home in the water that crocodiles, it is said, from sheer fear of them, often swim across a pond or a river to get out of their way.

Fishing Ceremonies

The Boyis are religious for they always begin the fishing season with a ceremonial worship of the Matha to whom a goat is sacrificed. This ceremony is also done before taking the nets into the water. Liquor is offered both to the goddess and to the stream or pond where fishing is done.

Pārvathi and Other Deities

Pārvathi is the chief deity the minor ones being the female Purakī and the males Nirākār, Kardeo and Bāgha. The last is apparently a garden deity. Every house has an oil or ghee lamp kept burning which represents its tutelary deity. Purakī is the only one among the deities, minor, to be represented in a picture available in the market. Pārvathi or Kalkā figures in almost all their religious functions. The most important day is the '*Ganga Satam*' seventh Hindu day after the Holi. Kalkā figures in cases of illness, when certain promises to her are made if a cure is granted and when the illness is over the promises are strictly made good. Usually liquor is offered to the goddess and sometimes a blood sacrifice generally of goat. The cymbals are clanged all the time right through the night. The other chief religious days are Nāg Pancami and Seetala Devī's day. The Boyis have a temple behind Lal-bagh, a temple dedicated to Sindhavī Mātā. Another Mātā the Meldhī is often prayed to in certain houses as her help is required to exorcise evil spirits and the Mātā is generally the image of a deceased female of the family.

Worship of the Legendary Ancestor, Nathu Baba

The ancestor Nathu Baba is also worshipped but only once in three years. The Boyis of the Sarkari Karkhana worship him annually. Many houses have Nathu's picture set in a frame. He is worshipped on the eleventh day of the Hindu month *Aśad.* A male goat is offered to him in the ritual of worship. Boyis while still following their ancestral forms of worship, have come under modern and city influences and some of them are Rāmanandi or Vallabāchāri.

Their Priests

The priests employed by the Boyis are upcountry Audich or Modh Brahmins (Pandits). The scheduled fee for officiating at marriages is Rupees two to four. There are at present three or four families of such Brahmins in the City of Baroda, Kashiwala Pandit, Ramotar and Guruprasad.

Their Marriage Customs

The marriageable age among the Boyis seems to be for boys fifteen to twenty and girls ten to fifteen. Often however the economic factor does keep a man unmarried, *e.g.* a fieldman in our department, though past twenty is still free and his recent promotion, it is said will end his bachelorship! The marriage settlement is at first a verbal agreement between the fathers of the boy and the girl. In this community, unlike many others, it is the girl's party who hold the whip hand. A day is then fixed for the *pucca* settlement, when the boy's party goes with the necessary articles and liquor to the girl's home. It is the bride's father who dictates the magnitude of the liquor and food as well. Often the liquor demanded is as much as four maunds in weight! On this occasion it is not essential that the boy should be present. Generally he does not come to the girl's house now. The ornaments brought which usually are a necklace *Hasali* of silver (or gold if so dictated), an armlet *Kade* of gold, and an anklet *Chapli* of silver, as soon as presented are worn by the girl at once. Then comes the exchange of bowls. The

boy's father puts two pice in the bowl while the bride's father puts in the bowl of the groom's father anything from Rupees ten to fifteen. The girl's relations also put Rupees two or three into the bowl of the bridegroom's father. Finally drinks are served. On this occasion no Brahmin priest is present. After a while, the groom's father goes to the bride's house with the Brahmin and the marriage day is fixed. On the morning of the marriage day the groom's party goes to the bride's house and stays there. Feasting and drinking are the order of the day with continuous cymbal clanging. At night the marriage takes place, the Brahmin directing the ceremony. The bride and the groom are seated before a fire, a knot is tied of their garments and they are taken round the fire seven times. Grass bands are tied round their wrists. Then goes on *Bhajan*, chanting or singing, when the drinks go round. Next evening the bridegroom returns to his house with his wife. Her party accompanies her; they bring money with them and pay if asked to beak bead and share a drink in the bridegroom's house. A marriage costs a poor man as much as Rupees three hundred and one better off Rupees eight hundred.

Polygamy and Widow Remarriage

A man can marry any number of times and several Boyis have two wives. Widow remarriage is allowed. The children and the property of a man who dies are taken charge of by his brother, the widow is left out. In the case of a widow marriage it is generally believed that if the husband is a bachelor the union is bound to result in destitution.

Divorce

Divorce is said to be easy though it can take place only by common consent and after sanction of the *Panca*. The *Panca* meets and hears the reasons from both the parties and then declares its decision which is final. A man thus released can marry, *i.e.* have the privilege of a religious and regular marriage ceremony later but the poor woman cannot do so. She can have recourse only to '*Natra*' where the

Panca need not ratify the agreement to which the husbands, old and new, are parties and the woman goes to live with the man she likes. In case of divorce the children are in the custody of the father. If they are very much in infancy the mother keeps them to be handed over later on to the father. The *Panca* sees that the condition is observed by the woman later.

Child-Birth and Ceremonies

When a child is born a Brahmin is called and he fixes the day for *Surya Darsan* (seeing the sun) usually the twelfth day. The Brahmin gives the child its name on the very first day and the name may be anything he chooses to give and is left to his imagination. The people, however, give the child the name they like and it is by this the child is known all its life. Usually the child takes his grandfather's name as his surname. On the twelfth day the *Surya Darsan* takes place; the mother comes out with the babe in her arms and sees the sun while the Brahmin pronounces his chants, etc. Tonsure takes place when the baby is six months' old or over. Talismans, square metals or tubelets with charms and mystic writings, strung through a string hung round the neck of the child are believed to protect the child from sickness or cure a sick child. Long after they pass the young stage, children continue to wear these. One safeguard against the evil eye is the *bajar battu* the efficacy of which depends on its being placed for some time in a bear's mouth. After delivery the mother is impure for fifteen to thirty days after which she goes about attending to her daily duties.

Funeral Customs

The funeral is generally cremation for the rich and burial for the poor. The burial grounds are near the Bechraji temple in Baroda City. No Brahmin is called; in fact no outsider is allowed. The body is tied to two poles and taken to the ground. The carriers generally say *Rām Rām Sathya.* When the material for the fire is piled up, the fire on the dried grass is taken seven times round the pile which is then set

fire to. Even in the case of burial, fire is used. The corpse is lowered into the pit and a little bit of dried grass afire and some earth (mud) are thrown on the corpse and the pit is filled up. All who attend the funeral bathe in the river before returning to the house of the deceased, each with one or two *Nīm* leaves. They then assemble at the deceased's house and chew the leaves before departing to their homes. On the *Teja* day usually the third day the party again assemble and proceed to the burial grounds with milk, water, sweets and jowar balls. These articles are spread around the mound on which milk is sprinkled. The party sit there for a while and then go to the river. Then in cupped hands water is held, sesame is thrown in and the whole lot is dropped into the stream. This is done thrice. Then they bring back a glass-full of water and pour it on a *Nīm* tree on the way. On the twelfth day the people assemble at the deceased's house and are given a meal by the deceased's people. No sweets are allowed, the menu consisting of dal, rice, vegetables, wheat barota, etc. On the next day, the thirteenth, sweetened milk and rice, puri and bajia, etc., are eaten. A funeral costs Rupees one hundred or even more.

Inheritance

The community is patrilineal. The son stays with the father even after marriage. The property descends in the patrilineal line. Sons have equal share there being no primogeniture. Failing sons, the property goes to the nearest relation in the patrilineal line. But if the daughters are minor and unwed then the property can be handed over to the cousin only if he promises that he would protect them and have them wedded when they reach their proper age. This is carefully watched by the *Panca.*

Communal Administration, Patel and *Panca*

The ancient administrative machinery of the community is fast losing its power and influence, and people do resort to courts now. The explanation is the split in the habitation, the Boyis of Baroda living scattered in so many localities.

This has naturally been followed by a division in the loyalties. The Head of the community is the Patel. He is elected by the *Panca* and holds office during his lifetime. He might resign or be deposed but this does not usually happen. The present Patel is Bhariav Dwaraka. The Patel decides disputes brought to him and his decision is final. His orders regarding say social ostracism of an offender are rigidly obeyed by the members. When the issue is important the Patel calls for a meeting of the *Panca* an elected body comprising all the elderly men of the community. The summons are conveyed by the barber who goes from house to house. He collects from every member a Rupee for *Suka Tambaccu* (dry tobacco) which he remits to the Patel. Out of this rupee the barber is entitled for four to five annas. The present holder of the office is Baba Rao. At the meeting there is no ballot nor show of hands but the Patel merely senses the opinion of the House.

Habitations

The Boyis of Baroda live in six localities in the City if we exclude the Sadar Bazaar, Baroda Residency, where three families live. The places are Yakutpura, Panidarwaza, Nawabpura, Babajipura, Genda nala and Dandia Bazaar near Kakasaheb Paga. The houses which are mostly built on hired land are mostly huts with mud walls and thatched roofs. Some however live in houses with walls of brick and mortar and tiled roofs. When a house or even a hut is built a ceremony '*Bas Puja*' (Bamboo worship) takes place when the Brahmin reads the '*Satyanarayana Pūja*'. In that ancient work is recorded, among others, the fate of those who were negligent about such worship and so all do respectfully listen to the Brahmin as he reads it. After the ceremony meals and drinks are served.

Food

The staple diet is jowar and bajra though rice and wheat are not uncommon. Dal, vegetables, fish, prawns, crabs, mutton, all these find a place in the menu. Beef is completely taboo as also fowl and eggs. Tortoise flesh and pork are eaten

by some. Crocodile flesh is not eaten but the crocodile is hunted and opened for the sake of its intestinal or stomachic concretion the bezoar which is very highly valued in medicine.

Games

As a class, the Boyis are fond of wrestling and gymnastics. Near Dandia Bazaar is an *Akhāda* or gymnasium with a wrestling arena run by an elder of the community who is himself a famous wrestler. The settlement of the community in Baroda City is said to have been at the instance of Mahārājah Kanderao Gaekwar (1856–70) who was very much interested in athletics and was himself a wrestler of no mean ability. Old people remember how in their childhood they saw or heard about their fathers' wrestling bouts with the Mahārājah. In spite of their fondness for these manly activities, the Boyis are quarrelsome to a degree and once they start wrangling and swearing, they keep on for hours on end. They are also gamblers playing *Jugar*.

Appearance and Dress

Though usually dark in complexion and swarthy looking, they are attractive in being strongly built. The women are equally well-built and the sale of fish is entirely in their hands. Men shave off a very large area of the head leaving a very small tuft, in fact a few wisps of hair. They wear a *dhotar* or waistcloth reaching lower than the knee or a pair of trousers, a waistcoat like jacket and a turban or cloth worn round the head or a cap. The women wear a petticoat, a bodice and a sari which is thrown over the head. The ornaments of women are usually silver or brass wristlets, lac bracelets, silver or brass anklets and silver or gold necklaces.

Height Measurements

The heights of thirty Bhoyis taken are as follows:— 1 : 5′ 10″, 3 : 5′ 9″, 1 : 5′ 8·75″, 2 : 5′ 6·5″, 1 : 5′ 6·25″, 2 : 5′ 6″, 1 : 5′ 5·75″, 1 : 5′ 5·5″, 1 : 5′ 5·25″, 1 : 5′ 5″, 2 : 5′ 4·75″, 1 : 5′ 4·5″, 1 : 5′ 4″, 1 : 5′ 3·5″, 2 : 5′ 3·25″, 3 : 5′ 3″, 1 : 5′ 2·75″, 1 : 5′ 2·5″, 1 : 5′ 1·5″, 1 : 5′ 0·75″, 1 : 5′ ·5″ and 1 : 5′·25″.

Cranial and Nasal Measurements

The cranial indices of the thirty men are as follows:—1 : 96·9, 1 : 92·9, 1 : 87·2, 1 : 84·1, 1 : 82·7, 1 : 80·8, 1 : 80·2, 1 : 79·8, 1 : 79·7, 1 : 79·5, 2 : 79·4, 1 : 79·2, 2 : 78·3, 1 : 78·1, 2 : 77·5, 1 : 77·3, 1 : 76·9, 1 : 76·7, 1 : 76·5, 1 : 76·2, 1 : 75·9, 1 : 75·6, 1 : 75·4, 1 : 74·7, 1 : 73·5, 1 : 72·9, and 1 : 72. The nasal indices are as follows:—1 : 91·4, 1 : 85·1, 1 : 84·3, 1 : 83·6, 1 : 83·3, 1 : 83, 1 : 82·9, 1 : 82·6, 1 : 82, 2 : 81·6, 1 : 81·2, 2 : 80·3, 1 : 80, 1 : 79·2, 1 : 78·5, 1 : 77·1, 1 : 76·9, 2 : 75, 1 : 74·5, 1 : 74, 1 : 73·2, 1 : 72·7, 1 : 72·4, 1 : 70·1 1 : 68·9, 1 : 67·2 and 1 : 65·5.

THE LEGEND OF PRAHLĀDA

By Dr. Mohan Singh, Ph.D., D.Litt.

The Historical Prahlāda

When all the accretions are removed, the story of Prahlāda would appear as under:

There was a tribe of non-Āryans who were ruled by a non-Āryan king named Kaśipu. He may have been called Hiraṇya-kaśipu for he had amassed much wealth, and conquered very large territories; or *Hiraṇya* was the title of the family or *gōtra*; or he was the ruler of the city of fire or wealth called Hiraṇyapura. A *brāhmaṇa* family was attached to the royal household and held charge of instructing the royal male off-springs in the art of government. There were other *brāhmaṇas* in the employ of the court who were powerful magicians and wizards. The king and the *brāhmaṇas* were great believers in *tapas* or austerities, which helped to attain boons. The royal teacher was Śukra-Usana, a *Bhārgava*, whose two sons Sanda and Marka were in charge of Prahlāda. Many other non-Āryan tribes, as also many Āryan tribes or rulers, owned the suzerainty of Hiraṇyakaśipu. The Āryans were not pleased with him for he did not acknowledge their gods; he had his own deity. Prahlāda may not have been a son or the son of Hiraṇyakaśipu, but another famed *daitya* king.

His Āryan subjects may have been persecuted by him. He, the wise and wealthy ruler of a wide territory into which the Āryans had but recently come, was killed in his fight with a lion. His death was the cause of great rejoicing among the Āryan population who interpreted his end as having been accomplished by their own god, *Hari*, which means a lion. Hiraṇyakaśipu's successor, direct or not, was Prahlāda who as a prince had shown greater tolerance for the Āryans. Him the Āryans liked and praised. He also ruled for a long time. He was the model of behaviour; a wise and just king, who was fearless, who spoke the truth and who bore adversity with

glowing stoicism. The Āryans thrived under his rule, though he had his battles with the Āryan leaders. He probably lived and died in the days when non-Āryan kingdoms flourished in India. His own capital is located in *Mūlasthāna*, modern Multan, which then was situated on the bank of a river. We can reasonably call Prahlāda the first non-Āryan teacher from whom even the Brāhmaṇa teachers could learn a good deal. His stoical ethic was his best virtue.

As regards Multan, Albairuni tells us (Vol. I, p. 298) that " Utpala, a native of Kashmir, says in his commentary on the book *Samhita* that Multan was originally called *Kaśyapapura*, then *Hamsapura*, then *Baghapura*, then *Śarabhapura*, and then *Mūlasthāna* the original place, for *Mūla* means root or origin and *Sthāna* means place. " *Kaśyapapura* is said to be derived from Kaśyapa, one of the seven *ṛṣis* that created the world. Prior to the rise of Islam there existed an extensive Hindu or Buddhist kingdom on the Indus which extended on the north as far as the frontier of the kingdom of Kashmir and to the port of Debal and along the shore of the ocean on the south-west. All the ancient names of Multan are significant. *Bāgha* (Vāgha) is the lion ; *Śarabha* is the elephant ; *Hamsa* is the swan ; and the reverse of *Sōham* ; it is also an incarnation of *Viṣṇu*. The *asuras* are, of course, men, as are *daityas*, *rākṣasas*, etc. The *asuras* were men of mysterious power. According to Satwalkar (*Mahābhārata*, Hindi), *asuras* were possessed of Vidya, Kala and Kapta Nīti ; they were great builders and given to *tapas* ; they were stoics, in religion. He identifies them with the Persians and the Assyrians. He places the *dēvas* in Tibet and *daityas* to the west of the *asuras* and *rākṣasas* to further north of both.

A number of other historical inferences can be drawn from the various versions of the story given before, concerning the composition of the Purāṇas at different periods ; the relation of the Purāṇas to the *brāhmaṇas*, to the *Mahābhārata*, and amongst themselves, to the several religious movements India witnessed about the advent of Islam into India ; the course of migration into and spread over India, of

the Āryans and their contact with the Āryans; the part the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas and the non-Āryans played in the evolution of a composite Indian culture; the nature of pre-Āryan beliefs; the truth of various genealogies, etc. But the drawing of such deductions is out of my immediate province.

In a recent article in the *Mahā-Bōdhi* (October 1934) I read: It appears that the original inhabitants of Bengal belonged to the *asura* race and spoke the *asura* tongue, which had perhaps affiliation to the *Austric* or *Austro-Asiatic* family of languages. Did the *asuras* at any time over-run the whole of North India, Multan to Bengal?

The Mythical Prahlāda

So far about the historical Prahlāda. What about the astronomical and metaphysical interpretations of this legend? What about the elaborate explanations provided by Mr. Nārāyan Aiyangār[1] and by the Sindhi genius, Principal N. V. Thadani who has interpreted the whole of the *Mahābhārata*, every incident in it, on a metaphysical basis. Although not a Sanskritic, I would hazard a conjecture. To me the unanimous tradition that Vyāsa compiled the Vēdas, the *Mahābhārata* and the Vēdānta Sūtras is very significant. It connotes one thing and that is most important that he was a philosopher whose synthesis harmonized all the three important Hindu systems of philosophy, Sānkhya, Yōga and Vēdānta. In the work of compilation he applied those synthetizing and correlating principles, and with the *Śabda-brahman* before him, he exploited the fertile Sanskrit words to their fullest extent and proved that Sanskrit, whether revealed or evolved, is a perfect language in that it takes account of all the four astronomical, psychological, spiritual and earthly facts of existence, and remembers and uses at each step their fourfold correspondence. In any case whether intentionally contrived or not, the fact remains, that almost all events and objects mentioned in the Vēdas and the *Mahābhārata* lend themselves to a very detailed astronomical, psychological and spiritual interpretation. The

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[1] *Essays on Indo-Āryan Mythology.*

dominant note of them is *vēdāntic*, the science of self and non-self, *jīva* and *brahman*, *māya* and *brahman* on the one hand and a keen, minute and comprehensive observation of the material phenomenon about us, on earth and in heaven, on the other. Such an exposition for which the books themselves supply clues and keys does no harm, is not fanciful and is of incalculable benefit in carrying the message of spirituality and ethics to the masses, the one purpose which the authors had in their minds. Prahlāda whether as Moon, as ideal *Sōma*, as the two spring months, as *Ānanda*, as wisdom and behaviour and *bhakti*, as sound, appeals to us and guides us on the path of life. The Panjab Hindu every year celebrates *Hōlī* and *Lōhī* or *Lohṛī* and recalls the triumph of good over evil, devotion over pride, self-control over passion, divine purposiveness over human bungling, *yōga* over *tapas*, while the Panjab Sikh everyday reminds himself in the words of the *Ādi Granth*: *Rām Japo Jīyā aise aise, Dhrū Prahlād Japio Har Jaise*; Remember the Lord, O my heart, in the same way as *Dhruva* and *Prahlāda* remembered *Hari*; and, again, *Harṇākash Duśt Har Māriyā, Prahlād Tarāiyā*, the Lord killed the evil-doer Harṇākash (Hiraṇyākṣa) and rescued the devotee Prahlāda. Prahlāda in the hands of the Vaiṣṇava exponents, has become an ideal for the laymen, who are taught by that ideal, faith in God, fearlessness, and the efficacy of the ever-present divine consciousness. God will guide us, protect us, reveal Himself to us only if we keep our consciousness charged with Him every moment. If that process of charging our consciousness with Him brings us into direct conflict with authority, with filial duty, we should dare them, deny them and all will yet be well in the end. To help us to acquire that God-charged consciousness, to awaken us to the reality of His power, any simple event about us will be and is enough. There will be potters and potteresses and ants enough about us to teach us the truth only if we go about in the right way. Prahlāda to the modern Hindu, is not the classical Prahlāda; he is the Prahlāda of *Vernacular* tradition and I cannot do better than translate here lines on Prahlāda from *Guru* Amar Das (1479–1574) who

was himself awakened to *Bhakti* unlike Prahlāda very late in life. He says :

(i)

Hari, Govinda, Gopāla writes the alphabet for me, which I shall learn. Those who attach themselves to another, are caught in the noose of *Yama*. My *Sadi Guru* (true teacher) looks after me.......In a trice He appeared in a terrifying aspect ....*Hari* does all their work for the saints. Twenty-one generations of *Prahlāda's* ancestors were granted deliverance by the Lord. The word of the *Guru* destroys the limited consciousness, which acts like a poison (*Ādi Grantha*, p. 1133).

(ii)

He has Himself allotted work to the *daityas* and He Himself shields the saints against the *daityas'* attacks. Whosoever takes shelter in Him, never suffers mental pain......The son of *daitya*, Prahlāda, knew neither *Gāyatrī* song nor *Tarpaṇa* (offerings) ; he was united to God only through *śabda*, the word. Those who practise devotion, day and night, the *śabda* destroys their awareness of duality. Those who love truth are ever pure and the Lord resides in their hearts. The foolish fall into the pit of duality ; they know not the *Mūla*, the root, and live out their lives in vain. Out of malice, the evil-minded *daitya* used to talk ill of the saints. Prahlāda did not learn duality ; he would not renounce the name of *Hari* nor was he frightened of any persecution (*Ādi Grantha*, p. 1133).

(iii)

The Creator (*Kartā*) wrought a wonder ; He made Prahlāda hear the *śabda* of the *Anāhata Vāṇi* (divine utterance). He who had turned his face from Him was lost in ignorance and he who had turned his face to Him shone with knowledge ; thus has the Creator ever produced causes yielding differing effects upon different temperaments. I shall learn no other code of conduct than the remembrance of His name ; my alphabet will be taught to me by *Gōvinda* and *Murāri*. His mother said to Prahlāda : Don't learn the path of Pravṛtṭi (turning towards from the world), that is what I have told

you so often. But he replied : The Fearless, the Giver is ever by my side.....He made the whole city tread the path of devotion (*Bhakti*) ; he listened to nothing of what the *sabā* (assembly) of the evil taught him....The Lord protects the honour of the *bhaktas* ; What can the created ones do (against His will) ? I practise within me the *dhyāna* (contemplation) of the word of the *guru*. It is one's own actions that act as causes ; thus was the *daitya* moved to activity ; he did not realize *Hari* and forgot his real self....The father threatened to strike the son with a club, asking him : Where is your *Jagadīśa* and *Gusāin*, the *Īśvara* of the creation, the Lord of the world ? Prahlāda answered : He is the life of the world, the Giver, the Friend in time of need ; wheresoever I cast my glance I behold Him. *Hari* manifested Himself out of the rent pillar and destroyed the *daitya* full of *ahankāra*. In the hearts of the *bhaktas* was sounded : Felicitations on your *Ānanda* (joy) ....*Lakṣmī* was afraid (of *Narasimha*) ; she would not go near. Thereupon the *Jana* (slave) Prahlāda went ahead and touched His feet. Sovereignty and possessions are all unreal, all *Māya* .....*Nanak* says, it is all His doing....The Creator showed His *rūpa* (form) (*Ādi Grantha*, pp. 1154–55).

Let us remember in the end that his case is particularly heartening for us. He was not a twice-born ; he was worse than even a *śūdra* for he was a *daitya*, *asura*, non-Āryan and even he could rise in the scale and obtain salvation through the remembrance of the divine name. His christian spirit of forgiveness as revealed in his acquisition of divine exculpation for his father is the spirit that we need most today.

(*To be concluded*)

THE TRIPLE BASIS OF THE VĒDĀNTA*

By Rao Saheb N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M.A., L.T.

God, Man and the Universe are the topics of speculation in philosophy. The universe is the collection of all that is, including man, excepting perhaps only God. Though man is a part of the manifested universe, he is apart from it, as he lives, moves and has his being as an entity, able to guide and control the universe. In this capacity, man, as the master of the universe, is the link between the universe and God. What makes him the master of the universe is his soul, which, associated with the mind and the will, interprets him to the universe and the universe to him. The soul magnified in its function becomes God in the first instance. As the soul is seen in the activity of man, God is seen in the activity of the universe. In the soul and God, however, there are two aspects, the personal and the impersonal. The former is known from different forms of activity, while the latter is the subject of speculation in philosophy. Leaving the universe aside for the moment, the idea of man and of God has two sides to it, the personal and the impersonal. Thus, we have,

God		Man	
Impersonal	Personal	Impersonal	Personal

In the Vedānta, God Impersonal is called Brahman, who is *Nirguṇa.*

God Personal is called Paramātma, who is *Saguṇa.*

Man Impersonal is called Jīvātma, who is the *Paramātma in the making.*

Man Personal is the Individual who is *part of the Universe.*

The Universe is called *Jagat.*

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* Paper submitted to the Thirteenth Indian Philosophical Congress, 1937.

The Doctrine of the Vēdānta is succinctly expressed in the Formula,

ब्रह्मसत्यं जगन्मिथ्या Brahman is Real; *Jagat* is Unreal;

जीवोब्रह्मैव नापरः Jīva is Brahman and nothing else.

The exposition of these three propositions is the function of the three main texts, the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the *Brahma Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa* which are together called *Prasthāna Traya*, the three-fold basis of the Vedānta.

It is interesting to see how this topic is developed in the three texts. I shall first take the *Brahma Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa.* In the course of five hundred and fifty-five sūtras or aphorisms, the author has dealt with the relation between Brahman and the universe, Brahman and man, and the nature of and the goal of existence. Broadly speaking the first chapter is devoted to the exposition of the idea that the whole universe is the form of Brahman. The second chapter after laying down that the whole universe has its origin in Brahman, separates the man from the universe, and dilates on the finiteness of the soul in man, as contrasted with the infiniteness of Brahman and dividing the human form into the vitalising element and the vitalised organism, separates the soul from the body for treatment. The body of man is merely a composite organism made up of the free elements of nature, while the soul partakes of the nature of Brahman in its activity. The next step is that this vital agency in life draws its energy from the special form of Brahman, known as *Hiraṇyagarbha.* Thus the *Jīva* becomes a separate factor in evolution, with the *Jagat* or the universe at one end, and Brahman, *Nirguṇa* and *Saguṇa* at the other end. Thus placed between two forces, the former materialising and the latter spiritualising the *Jīva*, the human soul has to feel its way in the world, from birth to death. These two limits of existence, birth and death, are therefore the limits of activity for man, as such, in space and in time. The eternal Brahman in eternal space and eternal time is the ideal and the limited *Jīva* in limited space and limited time is the actual idea. The activity of the human soul in this enclosure of existence constitutes virtue and vice,

Puṇya and *Pāpa*. When this limited line is extended backwards and forwards in the eternity of space and time, the conception of heaven and hell, *Svarga* and *Naraka*, and the concomitant conception of re-birth based on *Karma* and *Guṇa*, necessarily enter the field of speculation. Thus *Karma* begins to bind the activity of man in the world and liberation from this binding force becomes the ideal of man, if his goal is to reach Brahman and become one with Brahman. This upward course involves escape from the downward course of attachment to material things embodied in the *Jagat* or the universe, though it is also a form of and a manifestation of the same Brahman. If Brahman is the reality, the universe becomes necessarily the unreality, as two realities cannot exist in infinity. Thus the third chapter, by introducing the conceptions of virtue and vice, heaven and hell, birth and rebirth, and by placing the real Brahman as against the unreal universe starts and works out the idea and the ideal of *Upāsana*. The central doctrine of the Vēdānta as expounded by Bādarāyaṇa is developed in the third chapter, second section, Sūtras eleven to thirty-seven.

Of the three factors of speculation, *Jagat* or the universe being *Mithya* or unreal, *Brahman*, represented by *Tat*, and *Jīva*, represented by *Tvam*, in the *Mahāvākya Tat-Tvam*, That-Thou, are left for consideration. *Jīva*, being that which we see incessantly in an active state, is *Saguṇa*, being made up of the characteristics of *Saṭṭva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, *viz.* equanimity, activity and inactivity ; while Brahman who is realised from the activity of the universe and whose exact characteristics are only in the field of speculation and passive realisation, is *Nirguṇa*, being devoid of directly cognisable characteristics. When both these, Brahman and *Jīva*, are subjected to further analysis, *Jīva* becomes unreal, in the sense that the make-up of the *Jīva* is at the best and at the worst, a make-believe, as the attributes and the characteristics of *Jīva* are liable to and do actually cease to be at some time and at some stage. If the *Saguṇa Jīva* is also unreal, the only reality that remains is Brahman. But then there is an essential difference

between the unreality of the *Jagat* and the unreality of *Jīva*. *Jagat* or the universe, guided and controlled by the active *Jīva*, is absolute unreality, while *Jīva*, who runs the show of existence in the universe is only relatively unreal. The position arrived at may thus be stated :—

Jagat is apparently real, but absolutely unreal.

Jīva is relatively real, but *de facto* unreal.

Brahman is eternally real, by deduction, and so is absolutely real.

It is easy to disregard the *Jagat*, but it is not quite so easy to disregard *Jīva* and dismiss it as a *Mithya*, for its existence is the greatest reality we actually observe. So the question resolves itself to a consideration of the relationship between *Jīva* and *Brahman*. What happens is that the conception of *Brahman* is cut up into two parts and *Jīva* is also cut up into two parts.

Brahman becomes *Saguṇa* and *Nirguṇa*.

Jīva is active as the vitaliser of the human frame and as the *Upāsaka* of Brahman.

Leaving the animal side of *Jīva* alone, we take up the *Jīva* as the force in man that tries to lead him upward in evolution.[1] *Jīva* now meditates on Brahman, in two ways, as *Saguṇa* Brahman and *Nirguṇa* Brahman. The former attitude of man is his religion and the latter attitude is his philosophy. In the first attitude of man towards Brahman, he becomes an active religious man, being bound by the requirements of Vedic *Karma* or religious ritual and worship, including prayer of the protestant type. In the second attitude, man is led only by his power of concentration. The theory of the Vedānta is that the first attitude is the path of preparation for the second and an absolutely necessary path. It even lays down that the first path is incumbent for man throughout his life, even when and though he feels he is fit for the second attitude, because there are pitfalls in the second attitude, while there

[1] Called distinctively as *Ātma* and *Antarātma*, as different from *Paramātma*, i.e. *ātma-Upaniṣad*, *Rudra Hṛdaya-upaniṣad* and *Taittiriya-Upaniṣad* (*Nārāyaṇa Valli*, 66).

are ample safeguards in the first, and because the first could be gauged, not so the second. The theory of the Vēdānta is fulfilled in its practise in life, as all theories are realised only in practical application. So to realise the *Nirguṇa* Brahman, the *Upāsana* of *Saguṇa* Brahman is a necessary preliminary and concomitant. But says Bādarāyaṇa, the leading of *Saguṇa Upāsana* stops at a stage of its own accord. As long as the difference between *Tat* and *Tvam* is maintained by *Jīva*, *Jīva* remains separate from Brahman. That stage of differentiation is called *Avidya*. When the *Antahkaraṇa* or the inner being realises the oneness of the two, *Tat* becomes *Tvam* and *vice versa*. *Abhēda* or non-differentiation comes in and the *Mahāvākya* becomes *Tat-Tvam-Asi*, That-Thou-Art. That equation is realisation. According to the doctrine of *Yōga* as developed in the Upaniṣads, the stages of *Yama*, *Niyama*, *Āsana*, *Prāṇāyāma*, *Pratyāhāra*, *Dhyāna* and *Dhāraṇa* are all preliminary to *Samādhi*. As the *Mandala-Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad* puts it succinctly, to image the Caitanya as one is *Dhyāna*, to fix it up as one is *Dhāraṇa* and to forget it as an entity separate from His Self is *Samādhi*. Sūtras twenty-five to thirty-seven are devoted in the third chapter, second section, to the exposition of the *abhēda* or non-differentiation between *Jīva* and *Brahman*, and the establishment of the Vēdāntic truth, *Tat-Tvam-Asi* (That-Thou-Art), and *Brahma-Aham-Asmi* (Brahman-I-Am). The difference is *Avidya* and *Jagat* is *Mithya*. The rest of the treatise to the end of chapter III and the whole of chapter IV are devoted to a consideration of the comparative merits of *Karma* and *Gñāna*, the two paths of *Upāsana* laid down in the Vēda. The main ideas dealt with in the latter portion of the *Brahma Sūtras by Bādarāyaṇa* may be thus put in a nutshell.

1. *Saguṇa Upāsanas* of all grades and types are essentially alike in purpose.
2. The aim of *Saguṇa Upāsana*, *i.e.* *Svarga* or heaven is only a secondary aim, as it leads to *Nirguṇa Upāsana*, the aim of which is *Ānanda*, the form of Brahman.

3. *Mōkṣa* or salvation is the realisation, through *Upāsana* and *Gñāna* of the oneness, *Advitīya* of *Ātma* and *Sat*, the soul and truth.
4. Different forms of *Saguṇa Upāsana* lead *Jīva*, shorn of the bodily vehicle, in the *Linga-Ṣarīra*, to *Brahma-lōka*, along the path of the Sun, and from there to *Sāyujya* or oneness with Brahman.

This is the path of *Karma*.

5. *Nirguṇa Upāsana* or *Gñāna-Mārga* leads one to *Sayujya* straightly.
6. The path of *Karma* is intended for making man free from all sin inherited from his own past *Karma*, added to by his own *Karma*, in his voyage in the ocean of eternity, in his ship of life.
7. *Sannyāsa* or renunciation is the aim of both the *Upāsaka* and the *Gñāni*. The *Dharma* of *Varṇa* and *Āśrama* is the training ground for both.
8. Self-control and unattachment are necessary requisites.
9. The final *Dharma* of the final *Āśrama*, *viz.* *Sannyāsa*, is *Śravaṇa*, *Manana* and *Nididhyāsa*, *i.e.* study, thought and meditation.
10. *Karma* with *Upāsana* leads to *Gñāna*.
11. The *lōkas* traversed by the *Karma-Upāsaka* lead him finally to *Brahma-lōka*, from which there is no return.
12. The *Saguṇa-Upāsaka* reaches *Hiraṇyagarbha*, the *Saguṇa-Brahman*, and then gets *Brahma-Sāyujya*.
13. The *Nirguṇa-Upāsaka* attains *Paramātma* or Brahman as *Jyōti*, the eternal light.
14. The enjoyment of life is no bar to *Brahma-Siddhi*.
15. The Vēdic conception of enjoyment of higher life in other *lōkas* is not opposed to *Brahma-Siddhi*.
16. Both the *Saguṇa* and the *Nirguṇa Upāsakas* do attain *Brahma-Sāyujya* and from that state of bliss or *Ānanda*, there is no return.

This, in brief, is the teaching of the great *Ṛṣi Bādarāyaṇa* in his *Brahma Sūtras*. The same doctrine of the Vēdānta is

succinctly expressed in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, Chapter V, verses fourteen to seventeen.

14. *Karta*, *Karma* and *Karma phala* are not the creations of *Īśvara*, but of *Svabhāva* (*i.e.* one's own nature, which is the result of birth based on *Karma* and *Guṇa* as stated in Chapter IV, verse 13).
15. Īśvara has nothing to do with virtue or vice. It is *Agñāna* which is concealing *Gñāna*, that makes us think so.
16. When the veil of *Agñāna* is removed, *Gñāna* shines like the light of *Āditya*.
17. He who conquers vice by *Gñāna*, he who then knows the nature of Brahman, knows Brahman to be His Self, who meditates on Brahman and whose sole pleasure consists in it, goes to Brahman and does not return.

The philosophical teaching contained in the *Bhagavad Gītā* is concentrated in chapters two to six. The first chapter merely states the mental attitude of Arjuna towards his *Dharma* on the eve of the impending war. The substance of the five chapters two to six, may thus be stated for a general outline-view :—

2. One should know the best that should be known and that is that life and God are eternal, that *Dharma* is the gate to *Svarga*. With a firm mind and self-discipline, with clear vision and serene comprehension, one should do one's duty, selflessly. Such action gives one peace and happiness.
3. There are two paths for *Mōkṣa*, *Karma* and *Gñāna*. Action should be done in accordance with the Vēdic injunction and the tradition of the elders. There must be detachment, sense of selfless sacrifice and dedication of the action and the fruits of action to God. That is *Karma-Yōga*.
4. As God is eternal, so is *Dharma* eternal. *Vaidīka Karma* and *Dharma* should be performed and followed, in a spirit of reverence, knowledge and

service. That knowledge and action leads one to Him. That is *Gñāna-Yōga.*

5. Chapters three and four are co-ordinated in Chapter V. *Karma-Sannyāsa* is the performance of *Karma,* without attachment to the result, in a spirit of absolute dedication to God. *Agñāna* conceals *Gñāna.* When the mind is purified by *Karma-Sannyāsa,* the veil falls away and *Gñāna* shines, like light in a dark room. The discipline for that state of *Gñāna* and *Karma* is *Yōga.*
6. The sixth chapter is the expansion of the theme at the end of the fifth chapter. *Karma,* without attachment to result, is *Sannyāsa,* is *Yōga. Karma* leads to *Yōga,* through *Sama,* mental equilibrium. *Yōga* leads to *Tapas,* meditation.

Summarised, the ideas are :—

1. Know the best.
2. Do, selflessly.
3. Know and do, to become perfect.
4. Then doing is no doing.
5. If the mind is at peace.

Yōga is peace of mind; *Sannyāsa* is non-doing. Both are the same.

The philosophy of *Karma* and *Gñāna* is thus complete.

Chapters seven, eight and nine are taken up with the need for knowing the Lord as Nārāyaṇa, as being above all creation, and for selfless surrender to Him. This is the doctrine of *Bhakti,* which is the subject of ethics and not of philosophy. *Bhakti* is no third *mārga* as some interpreters think. It is a phase of both *Karma* and *Gñāna.* In the tenth and eleventh chapters the Lord reveals Himself through His manifestation and person. The remaining chapters develop the ethics of the relationship of man to God thus

12. Man should develop the spirit of love and devotion to Him.
13. Man should realise that He is neither the body nor the soul.

14. He is free from those characteristics which distinguish men.
15. He is Purusōttama.
16. Man's conduct is godly, when he acts according to the *Śāstra-Vidhi*, holding the *Śāstra*, based on the Vēda, as the *Pramāṇa* or authority.
17. The result of man's action is proportionate to his *Śraddha*. The goal of action is goodness, which is godliness. *Tat-Sat*.
18. The spirit of absolute surrender is the way to bliss.[2]

While thus the *Brahma Sūtras* deal with the eternity of Brahman, dismissing *Jagat* or the universe as unreal, and *Jīva* as unreal in the sense that at one stage it coalesces with Brahman and so ceases to be, and state the theory that this Brahman is meditated upon as *Saguṇa* and *Nirguṇa*, in the form of *Karma* and *Gñāna*, and that through either or both the ways, the same Brahman is realised in fulness of time, the *Bhagavad Gītā* gives a somewhat different treatment to the same theory, by showing the comparative merits of *Karma* and *Gñāna* and stating that *Karma* is the path to *Yōga* and *Sannyāsa*, and that this path leads in fulness of time through self-purification to *Gñāna* and *Mōkṣa*, a state of bliss from which there is no return. In these two texts, therefore, four fundamental philosophical ideas are formulated and developed, *viz. Karma*, *Yōga*, *Sannyāsa*, *Gñāna*—all leading to *Mōkṣa* or *Sāyujya* or realisation of Brahman.

The *Bhagavad Gītā* is itself called an upaniṣad or a philosophical treatise, expounding the *Doctrine of Life*, propounded in the basic text of religion and philosophy, the Vedas. However, the *Bhagavad Gītā* is only a part of the Bhīṣma Parva of the *Mahābhārata*, called the fifth Veda; and the philosophy and the ethics of the *Gītā* is directly connected with a particular episode in the history of India. The upaniṣads, as such,

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[2] Dealt with at length in the Paper on, "The Ethical and Philosophical Significance of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*," by the author of this Paper, submitted to the Eleventh Indian Philosophical Congress, Calcutta (*vide* abstract in *Proc.* Part II, pp. 250–51).

which are a hundred and eight in number are purely philosophical treatises devoted to the topical exposition of the Vedic *Doctrine of Life.* The hundred and eight upaniṣads are devoted to these four great topics of philosophy, *viz. Karma, Yōga, Sannyāsa* and *Gñāna.*

The Vēda deals with two topics, *Karma* and *Gñāna.* The aim of *Karma* is to enable man to avert evil and attain what is good to him in life. *Karma* in turn ends in *Gñāna* and *Mōkṣa.* The means to *Gñāna* and *Mōkṣa* is *Sannyāsa* and *Yōga*, based on the purity of the mind. So says the *Vēdic mantra* in *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, X, 12. Not by *Karma* or progeny or wealth could eternal life be realised, but only and solely by *Tyāga* or *Sannyāsa.* Through the knowledge of Vēdānta and its import, and with *Sannyāsa, Yōga* and purified mind (*Śuddha-Satva*) could the *Brahma-lōka* and *Mukti* be attained.

So the Vēda has itself textually laid down the pre-requisites for *Mōkṣa,* as *Sannyāsa* and *Yōga. Karma* and *Gñāna* are the two forms of human activity. The hundred and eight upaniṣads deal with these four topics, with this addition, *viz. Karma* is divided into two parts, *Mantra* and *Upāsana,* the bare use of the *Mantra,* with its sound-value, and the applied use of the *Mantra* with its ritualistic value. Thus the hundred and eight upaniṣads fall into five divisions, *Mantra, Upāsana, Yōga, Sannyāsa* and *Gñāna.* The Vēdāntic doctrine of human life and eternal life developed in the *Brahma Sūtras* and the *Bhagavad Gītā,* the two texts of the *Prasthāna-traya,* is thus developed in the upaniṣads :

Note.—[Of these hundred and eight upaniṣads, thirty-one belong to the *Atharva Vēda,* thirty-two to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda,* nineteen to the *Śukla Yajur Vēda,* sixteen to the *Sāma Vēda* and ten to the *Ṛg Vēda*].—(Summarised and dealt with in "The Upaniṣads of the *Atharva Veda*", *QJMS.* Vol. XXVI, No. 1 & 2, pp. 51–72.)

Mantra and Upāsana upaniṣads (47)

A portion of the *Praṣna upaniṣad* of the *Atharva Vēda* is devoted to the equation of *Praṇava Aum* with *Paramātma. Puruṣa* has sixteen *Kalas* and these ultimately return to

Paramātma. The *Puruṣa sūkta* of the *Atharva Vēda,* XIX, 6, in the sixteenth verse, not found in the text of the *Sūkta* in the other Vēdas, mentions King Sōma, as being born from *Puruṣa,* with seven times seventy rays. Sōma, associated with the Moon in later times, possesses sixteen *Kalas.* The *Nāda-bindu upaniṣad* of the *Ṛg Vēda* deals with the twelve *Mantras* of the *Praṇava,* while the *Akṣa Mālika* of the *Ṛg Vēda* deals with the esoteric significance of the fifty letters of the alphabet. The *Tripura upaniṣad* of the *Ṛg Vēda* deals with *Amṛṭeśvarī mantra of Dēvī,* the female side of Brahman, the *Puruṣa.* These deal purely with the *Mantra*-side of *Upāsana,* while the upaniṣads dealing with *Upāsana* as a special feature of *Karma-Yōga,* using the *Mantras* as the basis of meditation are quite legion. This is a special feature of several of the upaniṣads of the *Atharva Vēda.* The *Atharva Vēda* upaniṣads dealing with this section are the *Atharva Śira, Nṛsimha-Tāpinī, Sīta, Śarabha, Mahā-Nārāyaṇa, Rāma-Rahasya, Rāma-Tāpinī, Anna-pūrṇa, Sūrya, Tripura, Dēvī, Bhāvana, Bhasma-Jābala, Gaṇa-pati, Mahā-Vākya, Gōpōla-Tāpinī, Kṛṣṇa, Hayagrīva,* and *Dattātreya upaniṣads.* Among these the *Tripura-Tāpinī,* the *Devī* and the *Bhāvana upaniṣads* of the *Atharva Vēda* inaugurated the *Mantra Śāstra*[3] and the school of Śāktas. It is in the *Bhāvana-upaniṣad* that we get the make up of the *Śrī-Cakra,* the mystic symbol of *Śākta-Upāsana.* Next to the *Atharva Vēda,* the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda* claims the largest number of upaniṣads dealing with *Upāsana* or meditation on concentrated *Mantras.* Those are the *Kaivalya, Śvetāsvatara, Nārāyaṇa, Sūtra-Rahasya, Dakṣināmūrti, Skanda, Ēkākṣara, Akṣi, Rudra-hṛdaya, Panca-Brahma, Prāṇāgñi-hōṭra, Kali-santāraṇa,* and *Sarasvatī-Rahasya upaniṣads.* Of the remaining upaniṣads of this section, six, *Jābāla, Hamsa, Subala, Māntrika, Paingala* and *Tārasāra* belong to the *Śukla Yajur Vēda,* two, *Avyakta* and *Sāvitrī* to the *Sāma Vēda* and three *Mudgala, Soubhāgya-Lakṣmī* and *Bahvṛca* to the *Ṛg Vēda.* The

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[3] The author's Paper on " The *Atharva Vēda* and the *Mantra Sāstra,*" *QJMS.* Vol. XXVII, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 153–158.

importance of the upaniṣads of this class of *Upāsana* and the previous class of *Mantra-upaniṣads*, lies in giving a new orientation to the use of the Vēdic symbols and sounds for concentrated meditation and in starting quite a new school of *Upāsakas* known as the *Śāktas*, who meditated on Brahman in the female form of dēvī. The credit for this goes entirely to the *Atharva Vēda*, so much so that many learned men now wrongly think that the *Atharva Vēda* means the *Mantra-Śāstra*. These two classes of upaniṣads naturally paved the way for the development of *Yōga* as a special mode of life to facilitate concentration and meditation. The general formula of *Yōga* is contained in the *Aṣṭangās*, *Yama* or steadiness, *Niyama* or self-discipline, *Āsana* or attitude, *Prāṇāyāma* or breath-regulation, *Pratyāhara* or concentration, the five preparatory stages leading to the three higher stages, *viz.* *Dhyāṇa* or the thought of Brahman as the form of existence, *Dhāraṇa* or the fixation of that thought in the mind and *Samādhi* or the realisation of the truth in the *Vismṛti* or forgetfulness of the thought itself, Brahman and the individual becoming one, as the *Mandala-Brāhmaṇa upaniṣad* puts it.

Yōga-upaniṣads (14)

The sixth chapter of the *Bhagavad Gītā* begins with the proposition that *Karma* performed without attachment and desire is *Yōga*, is *Sannyāsa*. Until one attains *Gñāna*, the *Path of Karma* is the only path for one and the path of *Karma* is the path of *Yōga* and *Sannyāsa*. *Mantra*, *Upāsana*, *Yōga* and *Sannyāsa* are the means by which a person reaches the domain of *Gñāna*. The aspirant for *Gñāna*, *Āruruksa*, is helped by *Karma*, and the *Gñāni*, *Yōga-Ārūdha*, is helped by freedom from *Karma* (chapter VI, 3). To pass from *Karma* to *Gñāna*, the first steps are *Mantra* and *Upāsana*, the later steps are *Yōga* and *Sannyāsa*. The upaniṣads that develop the idea of *Yōga* belong particularly to the *Yajur Vēda*. The *Garbha*, *Amṛta-Nāda*, *Kṣurika*, *Tējōbindu*, *Dhyānabindu*, *Yogatattva*, *Yōga-śikha* and *Yōga-Kundali upaniṣads* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda* and the *Triśikha-Brahma*, *Manḍala-Brahma*, and *Advaita-Tāraka upaniṣads* of the *Śukla Yajur*

Vēda deal with all the details of the theory and practice of *Yōga*. Besides these eleven, the upaniṣads that deal with *Yōga* are only three, the *Śāndilya upaniṣad* of the *Atharva Vēda* and the *Yōga-Cūdamaṇi* and *Darśana upaniṣads* of the *Sāma Vēda*. The *Ṛg Vēda* upaniṣads do not deal either with *Yōga* or *Sannyāsa*.

Sannyāsa upaniṣads (13)

If meditation or *Yōga* is the first step to *Gñāna*, the second immediate step to *Gñāna* is *Sannyāsa* or renunciation. There is the spirit of *Yōga* and *Sannyāsa* in *Upāsana* also, but after a certain stage, the stage of absolute renunciation necessarily comes in. This stage in one's upward path may occur at any time, when he is a *Brahmacāri* or a *Gṛhasta* or a *Vānaprastha*. *Sannyāsa* is the last *Āśrama*, but it has no limit of time for its inception. When this stage arrives in any life of a person and at any stage of it, he takes a new birth, according to the code of *Varṇa-Āśrama-Dharma*. But even at that stage, *Dharma* does not leave him. That is the trouble with the code of Vēdic Dharma. Several rules and regulations limit the activities of a person who has reached the stage of *Sannyāsa*, for discipline is the life-breath of *Dharma*, as *Dharma* is the life-breath of the Vēda. Three upaniṣads of the *Atharva Vēda*, the *Nārada-Parivrājaka*, *Paramahamsa-Parivrājaka*, and *Parā-upaniṣads*, two of the *Sāma Vēda*, the *Āruṇika-Mahā-Sannyāsa*, and the *Kuṇḍika upaniṣads*, one of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda*, the *Katha upaniṣad*, and five of the *Śukla Yajur Vēda upaniṣads*, the *Paramahamsa*, *Bhikṣuka*, *Turīyātītavadhūta*, *Yājñavalkya*, and *Satyajaniya upaniṣads* deal with this topic in all its details.

There are in addition to these upaniṣads of the Vēdas dealing with the *Karma-Kāṇḍa* of the Vēda, a few upaniṣads which deal with special subsidiary topics, like *Bhasma*, *Rudrākṣa*, etc. They are seven in number. To the *Atharva Vēda* belong the *Bṛhad-Jābāla* and the *Paśupati-Brahma upaniṣads*. To the *Sāma Vēda* belong the *Vāsudēva*, *Rudrākṣa-Jābāla*, *Jābali*, and *Vajrasūcya upaniṣads*. To the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda* belongs only one upaniṣad of this type, *viz.*

Kālāgni-Rudra. There is none belonging to this type under the *Śukla-Yajur Vēda* or the *Ṛg Vēda*.

Brahma-Vidya or Brahma-Gñāna (27)

We now arrive at the upaniṣads dealing solely and more or less exclusively with the *Gñāna-Kāṇḍa* of the Vēda. Of the hundred and eight upaniṣads, only twenty-seven belong to this class. Among them only ten have been taken by the Ācāryas, Śrī Śankara, Śrī Rāmānuja and Śrī Madhva[4] for their elucidation of the doctrine of the Vēdānta. Of these twenty-seven, five belong to the *Atharva Vēda*, four to the *Sāma Veda*, nine to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda*, five to the *Śukla Yajur Vēda* and four to the *Ṛg Vēda*. Of the ten major upaniṣads three belong to the *Atharva Veda*, two to the *Sāma Vēda*, two to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda*, two to the *Śukla Yajur Vēda* and one to the *Ṛg Vēda*. The minor upaniṣads under this class are the *Atharva-śikha* and the *Ātma upaniṣads* of the *Atharva Vēda*, the *Maitrāyaṇī* and the *Maitrēyī* of the *Sāma Vēda*, the *Brahma*, *Amṛta-Bindu*, *Sarvasāra*, *Brahma-Vidya*, *Śārīraka*, *Avadhūta* and *Varāha* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda*, the *Nirālamba Adhyātma* and *Muktika* of the *Śukla-Yajur Vēda*, and the *Kauṣītaki*, *Ātma-Bōdha* and *Nirvāṇa upaniṣads* of the *Ṛg Vēda*. However, for elucidating the fundamental doctrines of the Vēdānta, we have recourse to the ten major upaniṣads. The *Aitarēya* alone belongs to the *Ṛg Vēda*. The *Īsāvāsya*

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[4] Śri Śankarācārya, Śri Rāmānujācārya and Śri Madhvācārya are the accredited leaders of the three great schools of Vēdānta in India, known respectively as the *Advaita*, the *Visiṣṭādvaita* and the *Dvaita*. Without entering into the details of their systems of speculation, it is possible to find the germ of these three phases of thought regarding the relation between Brahman and *Jīva* in the *Brahma Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa*, Chapter I, Section iv, Sūtras 20, 21 and 22 :—

20. *The theory of Asmarathya*.—Brahman and *Jīva* are related as cause and effect.

21. *The theory of Audulōmi*.—Brahman and *Jīva* are separate upto *Mōkṣa* and they become one in *Mōkṣa*.

22. *The theory of Kasakṛṣna*.—Brahman and *Jīva* are like the object and its reflection.

and the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka* belong to the *Śukla Yajur Vēda.* The *Katha* and the *Taittirīya* belong to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda.* The *Kēna* and the *Cāndōgya* belong to the *Sāma Vēda.* The *Praśna,* the *Muṇḍaka* and above all the *Māṇḍūkya,* which is called the head of all the upaniṣads, the upaniṣad which is the *Sannyāsi's* one upaniṣad for *Manana* and *Nidhi-dhyāsa* with its gloss, belong to the *Atharva Vēda.*

The *Muktikōpaniṣad* says that the *Māṇḍukya upaniṣad* alone is sufficient for giving one *Mōkṣa* and liberation from births. The reason is that it is in this short upaniṣad of the *Atharva Vēda* that the *Praṇava* is philologically and psychologically analysed and the equation of the *Jīva* with Brahman is fully explained. Though short and direct, it is a perfect upaniṣad for *Brahma Vidya.* Though the treatment of the *Praṇava* and the exposition of Brahman is the common topic of all the upaniṣads in this section, yet in their methods they naturally differ. The *Īśa* and the *Māṇḍūkya* are quite direct in their teaching. The former gives the esoteric and intrinsic value of *Ātma-Gñāna,* while the latter directly initiates the aspirant in *Praṇava-Dhyāna* and thus inculcates *Brahma Vidya.* The *Katha upaniṣad,* through the upaniṣadic rendering of the story of *Naśikétas,* related in the *Taittirīya Kāthaka Praśna,* gives an easy view of *Ātma-Gñāna.* The fundamental doctrine of the Vedānta is that *Karma* according to the Vēdic injunction, through *Mantra, Upāsana, Yōga* and *Sannyāsa,* purifies the *Ciṭṭa* and prepares the way for *Ātma-Gñāna,* the knowledge of the self, in relation to the *Jagat* or the universe, and thus prepares the *Ātma* or *Jīva,* through *Saguṇa Upāsana,* for *Nirguṇa Upāsana,* which creates *Brahma Gñāna* and brings about *Brahma-Sāyujya* or coalescence of *Jīva,* the soul of the individual, with Brahman, the soul of the universe, if we may say so. The *Praśna upaniṣad* deals with Brahman and the creation, and proceeds to treat of *Aum* as equivalent to *Paramātma.* So the *Muṇḍaka,* after establishing that the *Gñāna-Mārga* is superior *per se* to the *Karma-Mārga,* equates *Aum* with *Paramātma.* The *Aitareya* represents the *Ātman* as the form of *Pragñāna.* The *Kēna upaniṣad* bringing the

external aspects of the manifested universe in contradistinction with Brahman, demonstrates the universality of Brahman. Compared with these shorter upaniṣads, the *Taittirīya*, the *Cāndōgya* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka upaniṣads* stand on a different footing. The *Cāndōgya* is an elaborate treatise on the various means for obtaining *Brahma Gñāna*. The *Vidyas* or *Upāsanas* dealt with here are all referred to by *Bādarāyaṇa* in dealing with *Saguṇa Upāsana*. It deals with the *Upāsana* of the *Praṇava*, *Āditya*, *Sāvitrī*, *Gāyitrī*, *Brahma*, *Prāṇa*, and thus leads one to *Brahma Gñāna* of the direct type represented in the shorter upaniṣads. Similarly the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* is a long and more or less exhaustive treatise in philosophy and ethics. It deals with creation by *Prajāpati*, deals with *Varṇa-Āśrama-Dharma*, the *Karma-Mārga* and the *Gñāna-Mārga*, with the Vēdāntic formula of the unreality of *Jagat* and the eternity of Brahman, and through philosophical stories leads to the conception of Brahman as *Sat-Chit-Ānanda*, the eternal All-knowing-form of Bliss. It analyses the *Ātma* the rare possession of man and shows the way for a man to evolve it, so as to attain *Jīvan-Mukti* and immortality. The upaniṣad which is the longest of the ten, characteristically ends with the exposition of *Gāyatrī-Upāsana*, as equivalent to *Brahma-Upāsana* in the eighth chapter. The peculiarity of the *Taittirīya upaniṣad* consists in its being an upaniṣad in the Vēdic style with the Vēdic *Svara*. The upaniṣad which consists of four sections starts with the elements of *Brahma-Vidya Upāsana*, and teaches the pre-requisites of *Brahma-Vidya*, such as *Brahmacarya*, devotion to the *Ācārya*, concentration, etc., and then develops the idea of Brahman through simple formulæ, showing that Brahman is the form of bliss (*Ānanda*). In the third section, the upaniṣad describes the practical manner in which Bhṛgu learnt the nature of Brahman from his father. Thus the three sections form a composite manual of *Brahma-Vidya*. The fourth section is the Vēdic text of *Brahma-Vidya*. This section is really the most important portion of the whole upaniṣad, though from the point of view of speculation, the three sections alone are looked upon

as the upaniṣad proper. On the other hand it is the fourth section of the *Taittirīya upaniṣad* known as the *Nārāyaṇa Valli* or the section dealing with *Nārāyaṇa*, the Lord of the universe that is the basis of all the upaniṣads, because herein are the *Mantras*, devoted to the description of and the realisation of Brahman. *Mantras* relating to the earth, water, fire, Āditya, Puruṣa, Śiva, etc., are collated. The upaniṣad contains the following important *Mantras* useful for the realisation of Brahman.

1. *Anuvāka* 12.—Starting with the statement that Brahman is the smallest of the smallest and the mightiest of the mightiest, and ending with the statement that Brahman is realised only through *Yōga* and *Sannyāsa*, for Brahman is in that sound *Aum* which is at the beginning and at the end of the Vēda.
2. *Anuvāka* 13.—*Paramātma* is in the lotus of the heart, in its smallest shape for the convenience of the *Upāsaka* as Bādarāyaṇa says in the *Brahma Sūtras*, chapter I, section ii, sūtra 7, and sūtras 29 and 30.
3. *Anuvākas* 33 to 36.—*Aum* is Brahma. That is the object of *Upāsana* in *Gāyatrī*. The Regulation for *Gāyatrī Upāsana* is laid down in these Anuvākas, the invocation, the meditation and the conclusion.*
4. *Anuvākas* 39 to 41.—The meditation of Brahman as the All-purifier of the meditator, freeing man from all sins to which he is subject in life.
5. *Anuvākas* 65 and 66.—The equation of all aspects of material existence with the divine light in the *Ātma* or Self of man. This portion is the important *Mantra* for the self-purification and the self-realisation of man, the *Bramacāri*, the *Gṛhasta*, the *Vānaprastha* and the *Sannyāsa*.

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* *Gāyatrī Upāsana* is extensively dealt with in the *Dēvī Bhagavata*, XI ; (16–24) and XII ; (1–9).

6. *Anuvāka* 68.—*Aum* is *Brahma*, *Vāyu*, *Ātma*, *Satya*, and all. Brahma is *Aum*, *Jyōti*, *Amṛta*, *Bhūḥ*, *Bhuvaḥ* and *Suvaḥ*. The meditation of *Aum* is the *sine qua non* of *Brahma Vidya*.

7. *Anuvākas* 78 to 80.—*Satya*, *Tapas*, *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Dharma*, *Prajānana*, *Agnihōṭra*, *Yagña*, *Mānasa* and *Nyāsa* are all different methods of *Brahma Vidya*. Each person takes to one or more of these methods according to his bent of mind. The goal of all is Brahman. The last Anuvāka says that the greatest *Yagña* is *Ātma Yagña*, and this *Yagña* is described in the language of the Vēdic technique. One who thus meditates on his *Ātma* as Brahman attains *Sāyujya*, oneness with Brahman. Bādarāyaṇa's highest points in his *Brahma Sūtras* are two :—

   i. *Saguṇa Upāsana* and *Nirguṇa Upāsana*, both lead one to *Brahma-Sāyujya*. In the language of the Vēda, *Karma* and *Gñāna* both lead to *Mokṣa*. So says the *Bhagavad Gītā*, *Karma-Yōga* leads to *Karma Sannyāsa* and *Karma Sannyāsa* creates *Gñāna* and *Gñāna* leads to *Mōkṣa* or the realisation of Brahman. [*Brahma Sūtras* (IV, iii, 1 and IV, iv, 1) read with (IV, iv, 22).]

   ii. *Mānasa Cāyana* (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, X. 5) and *Mānasa Agniṣṭōma* (*Taittirīya upaniṣad*, *Nārāyaṇa Valli*, Anuvāka 80) are equivalent to *Nirguṇa Upāsana*. (*Vide*, *Brahma Sūtras*, chapter III, section iii, sūtras 24 and 44 to 52.)

The doctrine of the Vēdānta as expounded in the three texts, the *Brahma Sūtras*, the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the Upaniṣads is that the aim of life is to obtain the knowledge of Brahman, as apart from and a part of the universe, including man, and attain *Mōkṣa* or *Brahma Sāyujya* through *Karma* and *Gñāna*, the two interdependent methods of *Dharma* as propounded in the Vēda. The duty of man during life is to realise the real nature of *Jagat*, *Ātman* and *Brahman*, and to

equate the *Ātman* with Brahman as laid down in the four *Mahā-Vākyās* or the Profound Formulæ :

प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म

Pragñānam-Brahma (Wisdom is Brahman)

अहं ब्रह्मास्मि

Aham-Brahmāsmi (I am Brahman)

तत्त्वं असि

Tat-Tvam-Asi (That-Thou-Art)

अयं आत्मा ब्रह्म

Ayam-Ātmā-Brahma (This *Ātma* is Brahman)

and the *Mantra* for this realisation is

ओं-सोहं-ब्रह्म

Aum, Soham, Brahma.

तत् सत् ॥

Tat-Sat. That is Truth.

ONAM—THE CHARACTERISTIC NATIONAL FESTIVAL OF MALABAR

By L. K. Balaratnam

Onam is an important annual national festival of the Malayālees of Kerala. It is celebrated with great pomp and splendour in order to commemorate the glorious reign of an old *Asura* King, Mahābali by name, whose reign is believed to have been a period of 'uninterrupted peace, plenty and prosperity'. He was always kind and genial, simple and straightforward, humble and sincere, liberal and virtuous. He had that plainness of mind which is the best attribute of an ideal king. He liked to be happy himself and he liked to see his country happy. Pity for the poor was bred in him even in those far-off days. The festival generally falls in the first month of every Malayālam year corresponding to the August-September of the English year.

At this part of the year, the south-west monsoon ceases after dowering the earth with fertility and charm. The glimmering landscape is clothed in a radiant garment of glowing sunshine and the natural spacious scenery is immensely imposing and attractive, and is eminently worth enjoying. The sheaves of paddy in the vast stretches of luscious green fields which spread out to the horizon and which are slanting and are of a golden hue, shine with well-developed grains. It is needless here to emphasize that anyone and everyone will admire and appreciate the supremely charming scenery—one of intoxicating splendour—at the waving fields beyond, at the sheeny clouds above, at anything in fact, within the range of vision, which is, to say the least, excellent. We are never, by the perversity of our nature, quite so happy. The scene is superb. Bigger, brawnier and more broad-shouldered men and women would be in the fields reaping the full-eared paddy. The soil is very fertile and many other plants, which are floriferous, thrive to the utmost on it and are cultivated like

a garden. The odriferous flowers stand infinitely beauteous in their full bloom and splendour tossing to and fro in the serene salubrious spity breeze and the vision will awaken in all a feeling of irresistible joy and immense pleasure and relaxation. The bees will be humming like an orchestra in the trees and the birds singing as though they are divinely drunk. Mother Nature seems as if renovated, and the entire earth is resplendent with luxuriant vegetation. In a word this season may well be said to correspond to what the Europeans call 'The Spring'.

> "September! all glorious with gold as a King
> In the raiment of triumph attired,
> Outlightening the summer, outsweetening the spring,
> It broods o'er the woodlands with limitless wing.
> A presence of all men desired."

Origin of the Festival

The story of the origin of this festival of Kerala, is an intensely interesting one. The kingdom of King Mahābali is believed to have been somewhere in the enlightened State of Travancore, now noted for 'its exuberant natural beauties' which it provides to the tourist, 'its old-world simplicity and its arcadian charms'. In all matters—religious, social, political—his illustrious reign was marked by veracity, virtue and philanthropy. It is significant to note here, that the people as well as the noble King were pawned to veritable truth—in thought, word and deed—and without knowing anything of the tricks and deceits, the mishaps and miseries that go with poverty, which is a great enemy to human happiness, which destroys liberty which makes some virtues impracticable and others extremely difficult "lived in complete glee, free from all worries, dangers, diseases and infant mortality".

Seeing the divine munificence, the enormous and ever-increasing prosperity, and the temporary ascendancy of the King over the Gods, the Devas were filled with alarm and envy. They desired to crush the unbounded pride of this 'earthly potentate' and therefore earnestly entreated Lord

Mahāviṣṇu, the God of mercy and goodness in the Hindu Trinity, to comply with their desire. Thereupon, Viṣṇu approached and requested the sovereign—always happy and always sanguine—in the form of the dwarf Vāmana (Viṣṇu's fifth incarnation) as much territory as he could measure out by taking three strides in his vast kingdom, gratis. The King without realizing the danger to which he was exposing himself immediately granted him his desire.

In those days of peace—free from the turmoil, the struggles, the competitions—lands were legally transferred by word of mouth being hallowed out by a ceremonial act known as "*Poovum-neerum*". "*Poovum-neerum*" means flower and water. When the King was going to give the same, Śukra Mahārṣi the spiritual instructor of the King in all social as well as religious matters, understood the danger of the benignant gift and immediately transforming himself into a beetle, got into the hollow tail of the bell-metal vessel, used in Kerala from times immemorial for giving water, thereby prevented its flow so as to deliver the charitably disposed King from the extreme edge of being annihilated. Vāmana at once, like the hawk soaring in the skies swooping down on the partridge in a field of corn, came forward and taking a stick thrust it into the tail of the vessel thereby turning out the beetle. As a consequence of this, the beetle—Śukra Mahārṣi, in reality—lost his eyes and now Vāmana received his prayer, *viz.* the three steps of earth.

The monarch soon found to his utter dismay that he could not carry out his promise. For, Vāmana assumed an abnormally large size and measured with his first step the entire earth and with the second spanned the skies. He then asked the King for the third step of land. The King thereupon, without any reluctance whatsoever, asked him to place his foot on his own head and bowed. Vāmana now took the opportunity presented to him and placing his foot on the King's head pushed him down into the subterranean world, thereby satisfying the desire of the Devas, who on hearing the same greatly rejoiced. So passed from this earthly scene before

the eyes of all mankind, the King—looked upon with pity and tenderness by all. The people were terror-stricken, and, bellowing horribly, they hastened towards Viṣṇu, praying much for a boon. As a result, King Mahābali was given permission of revisiting his ancient domains and his subjects once a year, and the *Onam* Festival signifies it. This visit is on "the Srāvaṇa day in the month of Srāvaṇa, which is also reputed to be the date on which a new Kollam or Malabar Era was inaugurated in 824 A.D."

It may not be out of place in this connection to recall the lines of the great poet ROBERT SOUTHEY, from his beautiful poem on *The Story of King Baly*, in which he observes :—

> " For though he was cast down to Pādālam,
> Yet there by Yama's throne,
> Doth Baly sit in majesty and might,
> To judge the dead and sentence them aright.
> And for as much as he was still the friend,
> Of righteousness, it is permitted him,
> Yearly, from those drear regions to ascend,
> And walk the Earth, that he may hear his name
> Still hymn'd and honour'd by the grateful voice
> Of human kind, and in his fame rejoice."

The Festival

During the week prior to the *Thiru-Onam* day, the Malayālees make a grand preparation—a preparation not witnessed at other times—to accord a tremendously enthusiastic welcome to the noble King, and signs of the following festival can clearly be seen in every Nayar house. The festival is chiefly confined to four days, and all people irrespective of their caste, creed and colour, from the 'prince to the peasant' accept them as such and spend the whole period of festivities in mirth and merriment. Clay images of the King are made on the day preceding the *Thiru-Onam* day and flowers strewn round it. Till the close of the festival, both in the morn and the eve, the Nayars worship the deity with great veneration and respect. It is said, that "at the time of the religious revival in Malabar, Nayars accepted the Hindu faith with warmth and devotion; and today one finds in Malabar no

more pious worshippers of the Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon than the Nayars". In rich houses, clothes are presented to the junior members and relations and friends, on the morning of the festival, by the senior ones. There is a grand feast, the indispensable element consumed being the product peculiar of Malabar, *viz.* the Banana fruit. The impecunious people are also fed sumptuously by the rich.

Amusements

Amusements are those which give relaxation to the mind and act as a sort of recreation to it. On the day of the festival, at the very break of dawn, when the milk-man would be tinkling his way from house to house in fine attire, lively little boys and girls of different ages go out quite hale and hearty with a remarkably sweet and happy faces and a countenance expressive of a gentle and sympathetic nature, singing songs of melancholy joy, and rove about hither and thither for collecting flowers to adorn their houses. Clad in fine dress, and mid-day meal over, some batches of children of either sex depart from their homes for the purpose of enjoyments, seeking what is most agreeable and fitting to them.

The boys pursue ordinary games which give immense pleasure like foot-ball matches, *kuzhi-pandu*, *kayyamkali* and others. The grown-up indulge in games such as, hand-ball, personal combats, dice and cards. Games like hide-and-seek, *kaikattikali*,[1] *uzhingal*[2] and some others, which are characterized by spartan simplicity, constitute the leading forms of enjoyment for girls.

[1] A circular dance of the women.

[2] A swinging apparatus usually made of bamboo and attached to a horizontal branch of a tree.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT SOUTH INDIA

By S. S. Santhanam, M.A.

Introductory

A glimpse of the system of administration and administrative bodies of local units of South India in ancient times is available in the *South Indian Inscriptions*. A study of the system and institutions of administration of these local units is useful, interesting and also necessary as providing materials for the reconstruction of ancient South Indian history. The inscriptions serve as the historical documents of those times, standing monuments proclaiming to the world facts and figures, in their own language, Candradithya varai, that is, 'till the Sun and the Moon endure', the refrain of almost every inscription. A mass of facts of first-rate historical importance could be gathered from the statements engraved on stones and copper-plates from which scholars can cull out the information for the history of ancient South India in its various phases. The historic find of the Uttaramerur inscription—the Parāntaka inscription—detailing some features of local administration compares very favourably with modern administration presenting brilliant conditions at that time, and not of aboriginal times. It embraces not only the ordinary subjects but also many which look very modern in character: Public Health, Public Works, Education, Hindu Religious Endowments, Agriculture, Rural Development, Irrigation, Public Information and Propaganda. A flood of light is thrown on many problems of vital interest even today: for instance, there is a reference in one inscription to the *Sakkiliki Darisanam kātti*,[1] that is the audience of God to depressed class members known as Chucklers. The problem of temple-entry and harijan

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[1] *SII*. Vol. VIII. No. 151.

uplift agitating the minds of the people at present was also attempted to be solved in those days.

Madras or portions of Madras such as Mylapore, Vepery, Vysarpadi were in existence as early as the seventeenth century A.D., as the inscriptions[2] refer to Tiru Mylapore Nagara and villages of Vysarpadi. Vepery and Triplicane were already known in history by the hymns of Aḻvars.

Much light is thrown upon the arrangement in local administration. In gifting cows, taking care to gift a bull along with it, the provision of water-shed with a well nearby,[3] to the art of planning and formation of areas, in allotting shares to the respective demands there was meticulous care. There is a reference in one inscription[4] to the allotment of a share of land to a medical man, *Vaidhya Vidhuku, pangu onrum*, suggesting how provision was made for every department of activity that served the needs of the people. Even the way in which the yarn for wick in the temple-lamp should be made finds a reference in an inscription.[5] Milk is provided in another inscription for the cat which is kept to catch the rats which destroy the crops and grain as we also find in a Hoysala Inscription of the thirteenth century found in the famous Somanathpur Temple in the Mysore State.

Basic Principles of Local Administration

Concerning the basic principles of administration, an inscription[6] states :—" *Pasipakai anaithum neengi mannuyir thazhaippa, manu varu peruka, madhavar thavamum, mangayar karpumathi anthanara kuthippukaiyumeethezhu thanpunalum methini valamum cathi yozhukkamum nithi yaramum pirazhathu, nirpa....*" meaning that hunger and enmity vanishing, let human lives prosper and the tradition of Manu progress, the Tapas of *Tapasyas* and the chastity of women and the flames of performance of Brahmins rise high, the caste rules, the course of

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[2] *SII.* Vol. VIII, Nos. 534 and 537.

[3] *Ibid.* No. 458.

[4] *Ibid.* Vol. VII, No. 145.

[5] *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, No. 566.

[6] *Ibid.* No. 30.

law and *Dharma* without any deviation stand errect. This idea could be taken as the basic principle of administration of local unit as it was said of the maxim of the Imperial one. The system of administration envisages the presence and progress of such benign influences as *Dharma*, Justice, and the traditional code of conduct at work as basic principles of its own.

Another inscription[7] states, "*Vedhiararunthozhil vezhvich chenganal vlarppa, sruthuyum tamizhum tholvalam kuvala....*", meaning that the flames of the Brahmins' sacred performance to grow and Sruthi or Vedas and Tamil to move merrily on the land of the old.

One inscription speaks of "*mallai gnyalathu mannuyir kellam ellaiyil inpam*"...., meaning unbounded joy to humanity *en masse.*

In another inscription,[8] it speaks of "*senthamizh vadakalai therinthunarnthu neethi kettu nipunaraki narumalar vadathirumakal puthalvar ethisaikkum villakakainsolalini thalithu vansolal marangadanthu ich....mangalathu candraditha vari yinithonga vadarajankar saippa Varunarajan neertralippa Devarajan Disai villakka ethisai makalum....muthamizh malai muzhuvathum munarntha, citr mozhipperia nattom*" meaning that learning and understanding both Sanskrit or *vadakalai* as it was known and Tamil acquiring knowledge of law and becoming proficient in it, becoming sons of Goddess of wealth with her fragrant flowers about her, shining forth in all directions, showering forth sweet words and avoiding hard ones, in such wise this mangalam till the sun and the moon endure ; the God of wind to supply the air and breeze, the God of water sprinkle forth water, Indra or Devarajan the God to illuminate the directions, inhabitants of every direction....and possessed of the knowledge of literature of Tamil known as *Muthamizh*, stands the beautiful *nādu.*

The system of local administration has thus for its basic principles, a scrupulous observance of *Dharma*, the laws

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[7] *SII.* Vol. VIII, No. 404.

[8] *Ibid.* Vol. VII, No. 129.

of Manu—the code of conduct prescribed for the people and the performance of religious duties. Proud and lofty notions as the very tutelary gods of elements as water, wind, etc. taking kindly care of the locality are in evidence.

The secret of the undoubted and unique success of the ancient system of administration lies in the theory and practice of local administration in ancient South India. The Central Government's wishes were communicated and executed through the local administration to the units of local self-government. On the other side, the local bodies functioned with the co-operation and corporate spirit of those committed to their care.

Administrative Bodies

Of the administrative bodies of local units, four stand out prominently about which sufficient materials could be found in the inscriptions. And these are the *Nādu*, the *Mahāsabha* or the *Sabha*, the *Ur* and the *Nagara*. The *Nādu* appears to be the biggest local unit, for next to it higher in order, comes the *Maṇḍala* which is of provincial size. One inscription gives out, "*Immandalathu innattu*," meaning the *Nādu* or this *Maṇḍala*. These bodies appear to have, as the records of the inscriptions go to show, powers of taxation, and to have been entrusted with the duties of collecting tax which are due to the Central Government and to themselves, carrying out the mandates and the other administrative orders emanating from the king issued in a royal writ, "*Thiru volai*" as the inscriptions say, and act as trustees of gifts, fulfilling the functions of the administrative assignees and custodians of religious and secular properties and administering public affairs of the locality. They maintain accounts and accountants as inscriptions speak of "*Ur Kannaku*" or accountant of *Ur*, accounts of other bodies. These bodies hold their sittings mainly and mostly in the temples in the place called "*Ambalam*", where they transact and discuss their business. Sometimes joint sittings of two bodies, the *Nādu* and the *Sabha*, or any other two are held.

These bodies seemed to exercise all the three functions of modern government, legislative, executive and judicial. That they exercised powers of legislation can clearly be seen in the Uttaramerur inscriptions which speak of the pot-tickets, of the committee system and the franchise qualifications. In my study of the inscriptions I found the terms, "*kuraivarakkoodi irunthu*" meaning, assembled in not less number, perhaps, referring to some idea as the modern conception of quorum, and the other term "*emmilisanthu*" or agreed among ourselves, that is equivalent to resolved unanimously. These terms indicate the legislative functions entrusted to these bodies. As for executive powers, these bodies as administrative powers ought to have been primarily in possession of such powers more than legislative powers. We find in the inscriptions records of kings issuing writs to these bodies whose behests these carry out loyally. As for judicial powers of these bodies references are to be had in some inscriptions pointing out possession of such powers. For instance an inscription[9] refers to the allotment of a piece of land which was claimed to be a Brahmakṣētra, the *Inam* land of Brahmins, and the matter was referred to two persons to be adjudicated after obtaining the verdict of the *Nādu*. References there are to these bodies claiming penalty from persons who have taken wrong aims in hunting, thus proving the possession of judicial powers of these bodies. These will be examined in detail separately when referring to the administration of justice.

Let us now examine the working of each of these four bodies in the light of the inscriptions.

Nādu.—There is an inscription[10] which refers a tax-free gift by the *Nādu* and written to that effect by the accountant of the *Nādu*. It speaks of "*iraiyiliaka* (*iraimenaing*)" the dues or the tax as free of tax. Another[11] speaks of "*Nattar iraiyilum variyilum kazhithu kodutha padiye*" meaning the *Nādu*

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[9] *SII*. Vol. VII, No. 759.
[10] *Ibid*. VIII, No. 166.
[11] *Ibid*. No. 178.

gave the amount after deduction of tax and dues. A third[12] inscription reads as follows:—"*Nattuku pattirai padarvari vanthalum ivvoorku varushamthorum kolla nichcayitha panam pathu ozhinthu urdaiya nayinar śipathamc veru onrum kolla-kadavathallavenru nadaka nyamithu vittom. Ippadikku ivai nattu kanakku....ezhuthu.*" It means that though such dues as *pattirai* and *padar vari* are the incomes of the *Nādu* the ten paṇams which is fixed to be taken of this *Ur*, annually, is to be omitted and the Nāyaṅār Śrīpādam excepting, nothing should be taken so decided we the *Nādu* and so written the *Nādu* accountant. This inscription points out the taxing power of the *Nādu*. A fourth inscription[13] refers to the rate fixed by *Nādu* in regard to distribution in temple.

A fifth inscription[14] records, that "*Yadhavarayan Nattar-pakkal ponnittu vitta Devadānam*," meaning, Yadhavarāya making a *devadāna* after he had placed the amount of gold by *Nādu*. It can be said that whenever the local bodies take up or make over gifts tax-free either on its own initiative, or at the instance of individuals or chieftains, it takes up a portion of amount to defray the charges towards dues and tax on that property from the donors. The above is one such instance pointing out the custom obtaining in regard to this matter.

A sixth inscription[15] refers to the tax due to the *Nādu*, "*nattu vari*" meaning dues to *Nādu*, emphasising the taxing power of the *Nādu*.

A seventh inscription[16] records as "*nattu kanakkilum kazh ippithu*," meaning deduction being made in the accounts of the *Nādu* referring to the accounts branch of the *Nādu*.

An eighth inscription[17] refers to the sale of land by the *Nādu* to some Bhattars or Brahmins emphasising the power of selling lands by that body.

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[12] *SII.* Vol. VIII, No. 275.
[13] *Ibid.* No. 400.
[14] *Ibid.* No. 499.
[15] *Ibid.* No. 514.
[16] *Ibid.* Vol. VII, No. 22.
[17] *Ibid.* No. 25.

A ninth inscription[18] speaks of vanigars or class of oil-mongers and Nagarathars doing a thing with the knowledge of *Nādu.* Was it because that the approval of *Nādu* also was needed, that the body, the Nagarathars do like that ?

A tenth inscription[19] refers to "*Nattu viniyogam*" or dues to the *Nādu* while a eleventh[20] speaks of the *Nādu* undertaking to pay taxes and making a *Devadānam.*

A twelfth inscription[21] refers to the fact that when gifting a particular piece of plot to a temple was disputed by Brahmins as their *Inam* lands, the matter was referred to for adjudication after the verdict of the *Nādu*, emphasising the judicial competence of the *Nādu.*

Sabha.—Owing to the Utteramerur inscriptions, much more is known of the *Sabha* than of the other local administrative bodies. A study of the inscriptions at length go to show that the *Sabha* possessed and exercised powers which belonged to other bodies as well. Such functions as making grants tax-free, "*irayiliyaka kuduthal*", which those bodies had, were exercised by *Sabha* also. The powers of *Sabha* as seen from the inscriptions are these.

An inscription[22] refers to the Anbil Mahāsabha assembling in a temple, making over lands to the temple for persons who would sing the Lord's hymns and giving the same land tax-free.

A second inscription[23] refers to such a tax-free gift and also giving it in writing, "*ezuthi kuduthu*".

A third inscription[24] speaks of *Kozhiyur partru Sabhayarum Nattarum irayiliyaka thirukkaiyila neervarthu kuduthamayil*, meaning the *Sabha* of *Kozhiyur patru* along with the *Nādu* gifting tax-free by pouring water in the hands of the donee, the wonted method of gifting.

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18 *SII.* Vol. VII, No. 537.
19 *Ibid*, No. 145.
20 *Ibid.* No. 402.
21 *Ibid.* No. 759.
22 *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, No. 185.
23 *Ibid.* No. 193.
24 *Ibid.* No. 300.

A fourth inscription[25] records that the "*Irana dhirasa caturvethi mangalathu Mahasabhayom .... koyilile kootta kuraivarak kudi yiruthu nammur yandu* (*sa*) *vathu kadamai thattundai itthattuku samudhayamana nilathile siruthu nilam vitrakilum kadamaithattu porulka vendu menru mahasabhayom sammathithu....virrukdutha nilamavathu....*" meaning that the Mahāsabha of Iranathirasa Caturvedimangalam gathering in the temple in no less number assembled with a view to make up the default in paying tax agreed to sell towards that some lands of common hold even....and the land thus sold is....

A fifth inscription[26] states "*sabhayorai thandichu seivikkadavarakavum*" meaning punishing the *Sabha* is to have the thing done.

A sixth inscription[27] refers to "*Alum sabhayar*" or the *Sabha* that rules or administers.

Another inscription[28] refers to "*Sabhayom ezhuthu*" meaning the inscription of the *Sabha*.

In the next inscription[29] it speaks of "*Rāja Rājanezhuthu ....Sabhayar Kanka*" meaning that it was the writing of Rāja Rāja and the *Sabha* to note.

In a further inscription, it is stated, "*Mahāsabhayar pakkal vilai konda nilamavathu,*" meaning the land obtained from the *Sabha* by sale.

Another inscription[30] recrods "*Sabha iraikavalaka pon kondu,*" meaning the *Sabha* taking the tax amount in gold.

One inscription[31] refers to what it calls "*Sabhayom engal podhu nilam,*" meaning the common land belonging to the *Sabha*.

Another inscription[32] speaks of a request made to the *Sabha* and the latter acceding to the request.

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25 *SII*. Vol. VIII, No. 303.
26 *Ibid*. Vol. VII. No. 652.
27 *Ibid*. No. 34.
28 *Ibid*. No. 39.
29 *Ibid*. No. 40.
30 *Ibid*. No. 141.
31 *Ibid*. No. 513.
32 *Ibid*. No. 913.

The *Sabha* or *Mahāsabha* thus possessed powers of selling land, at its initiative, towards a gift or a deficit and its own default and whenever lands were required by persons for gifting to temples. The *Sabha* is seen to possess common property of its own. Its transactions are recorded and reduced to writing in some cases. Sometimes writ is issued by the king for the *Sabha* to note. The two important points that I have noted so far are that the *Sabha* is subject to punishment and also that the power of rule or administration is vested in the same body. About this point, I propose to touch later on. That the *Sabha* possessed legislative, executive and judicial powers is evident from the records shown above, in the assembly at the temple, in the responsibility for collection of tax, etc. and in the matter of administration of justice.

Ur.—The next local unit that exercised administrative functions was the *Ur* and in common with the other local bodies it exercised similar powers of taxation, tax-collection, etc. The inscriptions that enumerate the work of the *Ur* point out thereby the powers entrusted which will now be refered to.

An inscription[33] records after stating some gifts of land to the temple and instruction to the Brahmins of Tillai Nāyaka Caturvedi mangalam, "....*innailathu kku vanthana uril etri erakkavum*," meaning that the dues from this land be in the name of the *Ur* and through that body.

A second inscription[34] states that, "*Urom....munbu ivvur udaikulappattu nadum pazhai kidakkaiyil ikkulam varavil azihithukidakkayalikkulum vettithiruthi kollumidathu* (*Ur*) *alanthakol sundara pandyanale alantha karpuravuku munbu irakkum kadamaiku ithu kadum odaiyumai vetti thirukukaiyal..... seitharulina thirumukapadiyele....itiu ozhiya ponvari santhivikkhramapperu inavari....thariyirai thattarpattam epperpatta varikalum variyilum kazhiohu engal puravilum kazhichu candradithyavari....*," meaning that as on a former occasion

[33] *SII.* Vol. VIII, No. 43.
[34] *Ibid.* No. 169.

the *Ur* or the village part on account of split, had come to a worse state and was lying in ruins and the tank was in a dilapidated condition without any income therefrom. King Sundara Pāndya personally instructed the renovation of the tank for irrigation facilities, out of tax after deduction of tax on gold and the *santhivikkirama* dues in kind, tax on looms, tax on goldsmiths and all such taxes including the dues of *Ur* or village body to last till the sun and the moon endure.

A third inscription[35] refers to fact of the *Ur* taking tax amount and making a land tax-free. It states, " *Thiruvanaik-kavudaiyan Nayanar kovil....Devakanmikaluk....Isanaikurai Uravarorm punjai nilavilaipramnana isaivu thittu kuduṭha pari-savathu....itrai naḷal vitru kuduthu kolvathana emmilisaintha vilaiporul....kaichelavara kondu vitu,*" meaning that the *Ur* of Isanaikurai agreeing among themselves to sell the lands to the authorities of the temple of Tiruvanaikoval Nayanār, sold the same by receiving the sale amount without themselves incurring anything towards the effecting of the sale-deed.

The next inscription[36] speaks of " *Ur kanaku* " or the account of the *Ur*.

A second inscription[37] speaks of "*Uravarku irandu paṇam,*" meaning two coins to the *Ur*. An inscription quoted about *Nādu* speaks of " ten paṇams " to *Ur*.

A third inscription[38] states of " *Tiru Mylapore Uravar, Pudupakkam Vepery, Vyasarpady intha kramangal,*" meaning the *Ur* of Mylapore along with the villages of Vepery, Vyasar-padi.

A fourth inscription[39] speaks of " *Uraridai vilai konda nilam,*" meaning the land obtained by sale from the *Ur*.

A fifth inscription[40] refers to a gift of the *Ur* to the temple of the locality.

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35 *SII*. Vol. VIII, No. 338.
36 *Ibid*. No. 339.
37 *Ibid*. No. 486.
38 *Ibid*. Nos. 534 and 537.
39 *Ibid*. No. 547.
40 *Ibid*. No. 558.

A sixth inscription refers to the formation of an *Ur* with information to " *Varikuru seivar* " or the tax-assessors.

Another[41] says, " *Uravarkum kalthacanukum olai kudathanupinapadi*,"....meaning that writs were being issued to *Ur* and the smith.

The *Ur* or the local administration of that name enjoyed, thus, powers of taxation, collection of tax, power to sell land and make gift to temples, the royal writ being often issued to the *Ur* either for executing repairs or for other purposes. There is a reference to accounts[42] maintained by this body with an accountant.

Nagara.—The next local unit that we know from the inscriptions is the *Nagara*. This body would, according to its connotation mean a municipal unit or a body of urban area. The activities and affairs in respect of this body go to show that it was mainly a commercial corporation or a merchants' guild. It also stands to reason, that industry and commerce standing within the urban orbit more than the rural ambit, the *Nagara* looks like an administrative unit devoted to a special field, namely, commerce and industry. Specialisation which is claimed to a particular virtue and a special feature of modern times, can also be found to be at work in ancient South Indian administration, by the process of a separate body dealing with special affairs.

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[41] *SII*. Vol. VIII, No. 577.

[42] *Ibid*. No. 777.

STUDIES IN BIRD MYTHS

New Series—No. V

On the Khāṛiā Aetiological Myth about the Evolution of Birds and Their Coloration

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

By reason of their physical characteristics, social organization and some common religion nations and practices, the Khāṛiās appear to have ethnic affinity with the Munda-speaking race.

The Khāṛiās speak Kherwari or the Khāṛiā language which is the principal member of the Munda family of languages —According to the renowned linguist Sir George Grierson, the Munda group of languages together with some other tongues, constitutes the "Austro-Asiatic subfamily" of the great Austric family " of languages.

The Khāṛiās have their habitat in the Central hill ranges of the Mayurbhanja State of Orissa in the south-east and in the hills and plateau of the Singbhum, Manbhum and Ranchi districts of Chota Nagpur. They also dwell in the Sāmbalpur district and in fourteen out of the twenty-four feudatory States of Orissa. Their habitat also extends to the adjoining Central Provinces' States of Jashpur, Udaypur, Raigarh, Sakti and Sarangarh in the middle to as far east as Bilaspur, Raipur, Durg and Chhindwara districts of the Central Provinces.

The Khāṛiās have an interesting mass of folklore. Included among the myths and legends which are current among them is their—Creation Myth which is worthy of a special study. It is as follows:—

After Ponomosor (or the Creator) had created the earth and the vegetation, he moulded two images out of clay, one being that of a man and the other that of a woman. He then

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Vide, *The Khāṛiās*. By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., and Ramesh Chandra Roy, M.SC., in two volumes. Ranchi, 1937. Vol. I, pp. 1–26.

kept these two images within the cavity of a hollow banyan-tree (*Ficus indica*). While remaining there, the milky sop of the tree dropped into their mouths, whereupon the two figurines became endowed with life. Here they grew up to maturity. Thereafter they left their tree dwelling and went to the hills, in the caves of which they began to dwell. At that time they were devoid of wearing apparel and lived on a diet of wild fruits and roots. Shortly afterwards, children were born to them; and, in course of time, the whole race of mankind became so numerous that they began to suffer from a great scarcity of food.

Creation of Birds

Being stricken with want of food, the men and women prayed to Ponomosor begging Him to provide them with another kind of food. Thereupon the Creator of the Khāṛiās raised a violent tempest which raged over the whole earth. The leaves of the trees were blown high up in the air and were metamorphosed into different kinds of birds according to the respective sizes of the leaves. Then men began to kill the smaller kinds of birds and to feed upon their flesh.

Colour of Birds

In the very beginning, all the birds were white in complexion. But Ponomosor soon sent them out to find out the traces of the missing mankind upon the earth. So (during their search for men), the Dhechua bird sat on Burat trees and, therefore, became black. The Kuhu bird, sometimes sat on trees and sometimes on the ground and, for this reason, became brownish black. The Lopi bird sat on the ground only and, therefore, became brown. These birds used to return every night to Ponomosor and to give Him an account of their respective day's work.

From a study of the foregoing myth, we find that :—

(1) The Khāṛiās believe in the existence of an All-powerful Supernatural being whom they call Ponomosor and who is

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Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 415.

Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 415–16.

believed by them to have created the earth, the vegetable world, the whole race of mankind, and the birds.

(2) They believe that Ponomosor made two images of clay one being of a man and the other that of a woman, both of which became endowed with life as soon as the milky juice of a life-giving banyan tree dropped into their mouths.

(3) The incident of the creation of a man and a woman from two clay-figurines bears some similarity to an analogous incident in the Creation Myth of the Santals of the Santal Parganas.

(4) The Khāṛiās are careful observers of natural phenomena. They observed that tempests arose and raged over the earth and that the leaves of the trees, being torn from their branches by the fury of the storms, flew high up in the air like birds. Their myth-maker has, therefore, represented Ponomosor as raising, by his wonder working power, a violent storm in which the leaves of the trees flew about high up in the air, and as metamorphosing these leaves into different kinds of birds by the exercise of his same miraculous powers.

(5) The Khāṛiās, being careful observers of natural phenomena, observed that the leaves of trees were of different sizes. Their myth-maker has, therefore, represented Ponomosor as having created birds of different sizes according to the respective sizes of the leaves.

(6) They also observed that different species of birds were of different colours. The Khāṛiā myth-maker has, therefore, described that the birds' different coloration was due to the fact that they had sat on different kinds of trees and on the ground while they were searching for the traces of missing men and women on this earth.

(7) We further find from the study of the foregoing Khāṛiān myth that the primitive Khāṛiās are expert fowlers and that they live upon the flesh of the smaller kinds of birds which they either snare or kill.

NOTES

THE VIṬṬHALA TEMPLE AT HAMPI

MR. G. H. KHARE has pointed out that the *Tīrtha Prabandha* of Vādirāja and inscriptions from Śaka 1436 (1514 A.D.) clearly point that the temple of Viṭṭhala had been completed and was in use from at least the beginning of the sixteenth century.[1] Dr. C. Narayana Rao claims to have discovered the original image and shows that in Śrīmukha, Śaka 1435, Kṛshṇa Dēva Rāya erected the *gōpura*.[2] Vādirāja is said to have been born in Śaka 1402, Śārvari (1480 A.D.) and a grant to Vādirāja is dated 1571 A.D.[3] Therefore it might be conjectured that Vādirāja's pilgrimage took place in about 1500 A.D.

I wish to point out another clear reference to the Viṭṭhala temple in the Telugu work *Nārasimha Purāṇamu* of Haribhaṭṭa,[4] who lived in about 1580 A.D. The ancestor of his patron Prōluganṭi Ranga Pradhāni was one Tippa, the contemporary of Prauḍha Rāya.

ఆమంత్రీంద్రుఁడు ప్రౌఢరాయనృప దండాధీశ సంపత్కళా ।
సామగ్రి న్విలసిల్లి మల్లి సుమ భాస్వత్కీర్తి విస్ఫూర్తిను ।
ద్దామాసాధ్యమహోమహత్త్వమున సంధాయుక్తి దోశ్శక్తి వా ।
చామాధుర్యమునం బురావిభులతోఁ జర్చించు వర్చస్వియై ॥

....

కదలని భక్తితోఁ గట్టించెఁ బంపా విరూపాక్షు దేవుని గోపురంబు ।
విఠ్ఠలపతికిఁ గావించి యర్పణ చేసె మహనీయతర భోగమంటపంబు ।
మాల్యవంతము రఘుక్ష్మావధూభర్తకు ఘనకిరీటంబుపాయన మొసంగె ।
దర్శనం బిచ్చె మతంగవీరన్నకుఁ గట్టాణి ముత్యాల కంఠమాల ।

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1 *Vijayanagar Sex-Centenary Commemoration Volume*, p. 190.
2 *Proceedings VIII Oriental Conference*, p. 725.
3 *E.C.*, VIII, *Sb.* 35.
4 Published by the Āndhra Sāhitya Parishat, No. 18.

బ్రాహ్మణులనిల్పినగ్రహారములయందు ।
దిక్కులన్నింటఁగీర్తులు పిక్కటిల్ల ।
వెలసె దుర్మంత్రి సంఘాత విభవజాత ।
తిమిరకుముదారి యగుచు తిప్పశౌరి ॥

This Tippa is not Sālva Tippa who married Harima, the sister of Dēva Rāya, as this Tippa's wife is Bhairavāmba. This Tippa is said to have built the *gōpura* of the temple of Virūpakṣa and a *bhōga maṇṭapa* to Viṭṭhalapati; he gave a crown to Mālyavanta Raghunātha and a pearl necklace to Vīraṇṇa of Matanga parvata. This Prauḍha Rāya is Dēva Rāya II (1419–1446 A.D.) and hence the temple of Viṭṭhala was probably begun by him.

S. S. S.

REVIEWS

Early Buddhist Jurisprudence (Theravada Vinaya Laws). (By Miss Durga N. Bhagawat, M.A. Published by the Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 2. Price Rs. 3 or 5*sh.*)

THIS is a revised edition of a thesis which secured for Miss Durga Bhagawat the degree of the Master of Arts of the University of Bombay. Theravada Vinaya Laws, their origin, growth and administration would seem to be an appropriate title for a work in which is collected ample material relating to early Buddhist Jurisprudence. The Sangha for the working of which this penal code (the Vinaya Laws) is drawn up functioned as a republican state regulating and administering its own affairs and enforcing the willing obedience of its members to its decisions, even commanding the respect of kings who ceased to exercise jurisdiction over their subjects on their being admitted to the holy order, the laws of the Sangha being in consonance with those of the State. The Vinaya laws are traced by the authoress the Vedic times which held up the ideals of Brahmacarya and Brahmavadin which were fused into the Arhat ideal improving upon the ancient monastic rules by entering into the minutest detail and securing royal support and approbation. Miss Bhagawat has renewed the Pāli study of the Vinaya which received a scholarly treatment at the hands of Oldenberg who brought out a standard edition of Vinaya with an analysis of the outstanding questions dealt with in the texts some years ago and we hope this work will stimulate scholars to carry the investigation to a further stage of completion.

P. S. L.

The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy. (By Anagarika B. Govinda. Published by the University of Patna, Patna.)

IN this book which embodies the Readership Lectures of the Patna University, Anagarika B. Govinda very rightly paying

a tribute to the Vedic seers traces the origin of regligion to the Vedic hymns, rich at once in creative art and rhythm of life and refers to the period of ritual and the early stages of Indian thought in which human effort to master nature was practically smothered as man was enslaved to this or that dogma. He who felt dissatisfied with the regime of ritual or of cult or of both retired to the forest in search of the light and harmony within his own self. According to Anagarika the four axiomatic truths of the Buddha which he imparted to the world present a new orientation to the outlook of life and contain the framework of the Buddhist Philosophy, furnishing the key to unlock the secret door of a joyous life. Buddha's discourses exhibit a scholastic element and a systematic arrangement even down to the least detail which is carried out with rigidity in the Abhidhamma. Abhidhamma is not mere philosophy, nor mere psychology like food without vitamins but it is a practical philosophy and practical psychology related to acts of every-day life. Its purpose is to indicate the direction and method by which truth could be realised individually, truth which ordinary intellect while it has never failed to solve it has, however, tended to block the way to realization. On the path of the Buddha we give up all thoughts of 'I' and 'mine' and put away all worldly cares and desires, develop '*bodhicitta*', the highest type of consciousness and see earnestly, intently, clearly conscious things like the body, sensation, mind and phenomena. We, then, experience the infinite relationship with all that exists, taking part in their deepest experience and sharing their sorrow and joy. For according to the Abhidamma man is a potential lamp unto himself, a potential refuge unto himself without another refuge and can become the *Dhamma*. The aim of spiritual training in Buddhism is to change the entire life of man and to transform it into supreme harmony or freedom called *nibbana* in which greed, hatred and ignorance are wholly absent and are replaced by charity, compassion and enlightenment.

P. S. L.

The Heart Doctrine of Srī Bhagavad Gīta and Its Message: and Srimad Bhagavad Gīta of Bhagavān Srī Krishṇa. (By R. Vasudeva Rao and T. M. Janardhanam. Suddha Dharma Tract Nos. 3 and 4. Price Re. 0–4–0 : 0–14–0 Paper, Rs. 1–8–0 Boards, respectively.)

THE Suddha Dharma Mandalam Association have published two handy brochures, *Srimad Bhagavad Gīta*, tract No. 4, and the *Heart Doctrine of Srī Bhagavad Gīta and Its Mesaage*, tract No. 3, by Vasudeva Rao assisted by Janardhanam. The *Bhagavad Gīta* or the song of songs appeals to every nation and every individual. Its precious cultural value, its teachings, its thought-provoking doctrines, its assistance in meeting legitimate attempts to understand and interpret the sayings of the divine are such as would appeal to every member of the human family. It is translated into all languages and the message of the *Gīta* is not controlled by space, time, country or dimension. Mr. Vasudeva Rao says that the *Gīta* is about one hundred and thirty centuries old, a view for which we have not been able to find sufficient support. It may be that the teachings or the instances referred to in the *Gīta* are as old as the Āryan families which inherited that tradition but whether the composition of the *Gīta* is quite so old is a matter on which we should seek further enlightenment.

S. S.

The Mahābhārata—Udyogaparvan. (1) Fascicule 9. (Edited by Vishṇu S. Sukthankar. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 4.)

WE most heartily congratulate the Committee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on bringing out regularly the several parvans of the *Mahābhārata*. The part under review consists of one hundred chapters of the Udyogaparvan. The editorial note gives details which mark out this fascicule from the others on those chapters of the Udyogaparvan, but we invite the attention of the readers to the chapters forty-two to forty-five dealing with the Sanat-Sujata sub-parvan. Mr. S. K. De

remarks that the stories of the *grantha* version of the Udyoga-parvan is the northern recension as it contains an additional passage belonging to the northern recension while no passage characteristic of the southern text is to be found in it. We await the other volumes with eager interest.

S. S.

Philosophy of the Self. (By G. R. Malkani. The Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner.)

PHILOSOPHY of the self is nothing but a process of refreshing our intellectual perception of the self in a form of spiritual seeing or deepening of our insight. The author attempts to bring out in these lectures originally delivered at the Indian Institute of Philosophy the most important character of ultimate reality which must have the character of the Self and which is not capable of being known as object but must be self-known, immutable, infinite and limitless. Value of philosophy lies in the disinterested spirit of reason with which we seek to render intelligible the entire field of our experience and not in any self-conclusions. Truth or rather the realization of it has a direct bearing upon our spiritual well-being and our ultimate destiny. The author argues upon the various ideas which confront man's mind and discusses ontological and epistemological problems.

The proof of the existence of God is not direct but mostly indirect. If we have no experience of the most perfect being, if we have no validating experience, any concept of God would be really meaningless. The business of philosophy is a more live business for it is not to analyse concepts, but to analyse our experience and is intended to lead to a knowledge of the super-sensible.

Can the ultimate ground of all reality be known on the principles of reasoning? Reason has a secondary place only because the philosophical theories are not rationally constructed but are the outcome of certain spiritual or personal intuitions. Reason may be a means for the elucidation of this intuition

but it cannot be a substitute for it. It is because our intuition goes beyond the sensible and accepts a higher reality, that any metaphysical problem arises at all. While therefore we analyse and criticise our sensible experience or empirical knowledge in general it is equally important that we should consciously direct our attention to that higher form of intuition which would not be open to criticism and which would in fact transcend any criticism whatsoever.

In successive chapters the author speaks on the self-awareness, grades of subjectivity and says that the self can only be realised in an intuition which realises the unity of knowledge being without distinction. The ultimate reality is the self. The author then deals on the various states of consciousness, on the great problem of immortality of the soul, which is an accepted fact but cannot be proved definitely since the question is whether there is a soul? In the light of European philosophy the author discusses various problems and with the final chapter on 'The Individual and the Absolute', he concludes his illuminating philosophical study of the Vedanta with the following words: "The true God is within us. It is the self that is the ground of the appearance of all things. There is no real creation anywhere. There is only illusory appearance. This self is by its very nature blissful. Whatever we do or do not do, we are moving and living in the bliss, which is inalienable from our being. It is only ignorance of our true self which divides us from the bliss."

P. B. R.

Where Theosophy and Science Meet, Vol. IV. (Edited by D. D. Kanga. Published by the Adyar Library Association, Adyar, Madras. Price Rs. 2–4–0.)

Where Theosophy and Science Meet is the last volume on this interesting subject, the others of which have been reviewed in these pages and is dedicated as a loving and humble tribute to H. P. Blavatsky on the occasion of the semi-centenary of the publication of the Secret Doctrine. This series is supposed

to lead man to understand true happiness, to find out why he is miserable and restless when he is awake or is calm and peaceful when he is asleep, why he feels overcome at the thought of climbing a high steep hill or a long flight of steps to a flat without a lift and finds the same task easy and smooth or even forgets that he has come to the end of his journey if he is at the same time deeply engaged in thinking out an intensely difficult problem, why he frets and fumes or is perplexed, when he sees himself in the looking glass whether he is the person reflected and the reflection in the mirror is himself and enters a field of exploration which is new and fascinating and to which there is no limit. The old order changeth yielding place to new. Why is the old order crumbling and a new age being born? There are seven stages of evolution of man through the divine, the monadic, the atmic, the buddhic, the mental, the astral and the physical planes but when this field of evolution at the sevenfold Universe is actually on the evolution of humanity, the universe is fivefold. We are passing through the evolutionary cycle and we are now passing through the unalloyed mental phase of civilization in the fourth round and we see before our very eyes the dire results of the combination of the conquest of science coming as agents of enslavement, exploitation and destruction by perversion of scientific knowledge and achievement in the wholesale slaughter of modern warfare, by starvation in the midst of plenty and the mechanization of man's mind and soul. It is to be hoped that there will be a good school of evolution and civilization will not still merge into the chaos of suffering and enslavement. The place of intuition and the instinct in the method of research should not be forgotten. Intuition is alike to instinct as being some subtle and unawakened form of instinct. This is to be seen from a new angle and psychical research has an important part to play in man's well-being.

S. S.

Foreign Notices of South India, from Megasthenes to Ma Huan. (By K. A. Nilakanta Sastry. *Madras University Historical Series*, No. 14. Price Rs. 4–8–0 or 7*s*. 6*d*.)

We have gone very carefully through this source book of early South Indian History and assert without hesitation that it presents in a handy volume the numerous foreign notices of South India including Ceylon scattered in several books and publications, hitherto not easily available to the reader. We hope this will soon be made available in the several vernaculars of South India.

S. S.

Reflections on Indian Travels. (By Chandra Chakraberty. Published by Messrs. Vijaya Krishna Brothers, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1–8–0.)

This is an arresting book, a kind of historical and geographical dictionary on India. Close printing and absence of marginal notes and foot-notes detract from the value of a work which is bound to be helpful and which is cheap for its price. Casual inspection and reference show that the book gives an intelligent account of the various items dealt with in it.

S. S.

The Successors of the Śātavāhanās in the Lower Deccan. (By Dineschandra Sirkar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta, Calcutta.)

Dineschandra Sirkar is an erudite scholar specialized in Ancient Indian History and Culture. The present volume on the Successors of the Śātavāhanās in Lower Deccan is aptly inscribed to Dr. Syamaprasad Mukerjee, sometime Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. Dr. Sirkar develops the views originally expressed in his monographs and papers and embodies the recent investigations on ancient Indian history in the addenda. The map of the Dakṣiṇāpatha is illustrative and useful. It is interesting to observe that an inscription of the fifth century (*E.C.*, XI, p. 142) discovered in

the Davanagere Taluq of the Chitaldrug District speaks of a Kekaya prince, Śivaskandavarman who claims for his family matrimonial connections with the saintly kings of the Ikṣvāku line. The readers of the *QJMS.* are familiar with many of the views which are discussed and elaborated in this book but we may refer to one or two matters. The author believes and quite rightly that the inscriptions found in the south are those of Aśoka establishing the southern boundary of the Mauryan Empire in the days of Aśoka though Kāñci lay outside that Empire and that in the time of Aśoka the Mauryan frontier was probably on the river Pennar near Nellore and Chitaldrug, but had not gone farther down. Kuntala comprised the southernmost districts of the Bombay Presidency and the northernmost districts of modern Mysore and perhaps included the Kannada-speaking areas of Madras with the exception of the coastal region. Sirkar refers to Kuntala and Karnāta using them as synonyms and his statement in the foot-note on page 216 that " Vijayanagara belonged to the Kuntala Viṣaya of the Karnātaka country " agrees with the long held view that the Vijayanagara Empire was a Karnātaka empire. Sirkar also believes in the story of the migration of Candragupta Maurya to Mysore with his teacher Bhadrabahu Srutakevali and seeks a confirmation of it from *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 263, which says that Nagarakhanda was protected by Candragupta, an abode of the usages of eminent Kṣatriyas. Though this is a record of the fourteenth century support for it is gained from the discovery of the inscriptions of Aśoka at Siddapur, Brahmagiri and Jatinga Ramēsvara in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore. On the origin of the Kadambas Sirkar says that the traditions referred to are of little historical value and that the founder of the Kadamba dynasty was named Maurya and the family name had an accidental connection with the Kadamba tree and nothing more and appears to rely for his conclusions on totemistic affinities. The problem concerning the origin of the Kadamba dynasty requires further investigation.

S. S.

India as Described by Early Greek Writers. [By Baij Nath Puri, M.A., B.A. (HONS.). Published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.]

WE recommend this interesting volume, handy for reference and useful to students of ancient Indian history to all Universities and libraries. It is carefully edited and well got up.

S. S.

Sind's Changing Map: Settlements in the Lower Indus Basin (Sind); Historical Geography of Sind, Part III: Identification and Description of Some Old Sites in Sind. (By Maneck B. Pithawala, B.A., B.SC., L.C.P., F.G.S. Research Certificate, University of London, Victoria Road, Karachi.)

Sind's Changing Map is an album containing fifty-one old and rare maps of Sind collected by the author with a general note on page ten and a critical and explanatory note for each map. Map 1, the oldest available, shows the course of the Indus; map 2 is a revision of map 1 with some reliefs in addition. Maps 3 to 14 are Islamic maps taken from different sources belonging to the period of the Arabs: the remaining ones give the situation and various conditions of Sind from 1569 to the present day.

A synthetic treatment of the trends of the history and progress of human settlements in the region of the Indus bearing on the geographical features is dealt with in 'Settlements in the Lower Indus Basin,' itself a reprint from the *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*. The first part relates to the influence of political, climatic, geomorphological, tectonic and hydrographical changes in the region and the second with the study of population problems. The map of Sind showing the density of population makes interesting study.

Historical Geography of Sind, another reprint from the *Journal of the Sind Historical Society*, in which is given Pithawala's study on the geographical analysis of the Lower Indus Basin with special reference to the history and progress

of human settlemet in that region with a correlated account of the history and geography of Sind from the post-Arab and other native dynasties to the conquest of Sind in 1843 by the British. A continuation of this book with special reference to the physical basis or conditions is given in another brochure: " Identification and Description of Some Old Sites in Sind ", in which are described briefly and vividly twenty-five old sites in Sind, four of which have altogether disappeared from view, no relic of them—not a stone or a brick—being traceable with any certainty in the valley. Bukkar Island, Sehvan and Jherruck, the three old sites alone stand as tokens of a river which is restless in a region that knows no permanency of settlement. We eagerly await Mr. Pithawala's further publications of the regional researches in Sind.

H. R.

Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture. (By D. R. Bhandarkar. Published by the Registrar, University of Madras, Madras.)

DR. BHANDARKAR'S lectures under the auspices of the University of Madras, Sir William Meyer Lectures 1938–39, relate to the Ancient Indian Culture of Pre-Mauryan India in which after an inspiring discussion on the Ārya, Dāsa and Śūdra he proceeds to the antiquity of the Vēdas with reference to the Ṛg Vēda which tells us both about the Āryan and non-Āryan cultures. He considers that the Āryans were settled in the Punjab, the Saptasindhus, and that the composers of the Ṛg Vēdic hymns were living side by side with the people of the Punjab, Afghanistan, Arachosia and Iran. In the struggle for the supremacy of the Āryas, the Dāsas are described as black in colour, inconsistent in structure with the distinctly fair Āryas. It may be the original Dāsas were connected with the Iranian race or it may be that *varṇa* is understood by different authors in different ways. After all *varṇa* may mean 'order, confraternity', any caste as regarded by the authors of the Vedic index. Dāsa was later used to denote a foreigner

or aborginal and Śūdra which occurs only once in the *Puruṣa-sūkta* seems to be used in contrast with Ārya suggesting a foreigner or an aborginal as distinct from the Āryas. The expression Śūdra has nothing to do with the culture or absence of it and may be used for a person who is perhaps assimilated or has no Āryan culture and is a foreigner. One of the facts of the Āryan culture which sought its dissemination throughout the length and breadth of the country peopled by the non-Āryans is the Āryan faith in one Universal Soul. Sanskrit developed on the Āryan tongue except amongst the Dravidians and became more predominant. Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that the language in the Ṛg Vēda borrowed words from the Dravidian tongue and that phonetically also it was affected by it though the superiority of Sanskrit remained. There are undoubtedly abundant words of foreign origin in the Atharva Vēda and perhaps traces of it in the Ṛg Vēda but to what extent it was due to the influence of non-Āryan tongues is a matter which requires further exploration. The lectures about the Braminisation and Indianisation are interesting. The Ṛṣis were active but not aggressive propagators of the Brahminical faith and Agastya apparently established himself in South India across the Vindhyas. Rākṣasās and Vānarās so called, are also perhaps non-Āryan tribes in alliance with the Brahmins following the Brahminical form of worship and religion. A Dharwar inscription refers to the ruling family as scions of the Bali race and lords of the Kiṣkindha, best of towns, bearing the device of an ape on the banner (*cf.* Kapidhvaja kingdom).

Dr. Bhandarkar says that the Hindu society was not so inelastic formerly as now and that there was no rigid compartmentalisation of the four castes from the days of the Ṛg Vēda. Hinduism was a non-proselytising religion : Promotion to a higher caste or a degradation was, however, common as illustrated in the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* and we may observe that instances were not rare even in the Vijayanagara times. Hinduism absorbed the communities living around to its fold, in matters of religion, worship, beliefs and daily life.

When India became somewhat self-centred and lost the enterprise for managing her colonies outside the shores of India itself she lost also the qualities of proselytisation and with the Muslim inraids into India Hindu society was on its trial. It was the difficult circumstances of the time which made caste somewhat rigid and it has now become a degrading, crushing, devitalising superstition. The sanctity of the cow is throughout continued though there have been instances of the sacrifice of bulls and barren cows with horses and rams and of bulls for food. Opinion is not uniform concerning the use of the cow's flesh and we would not harbour the opinion that the Smṛtis of Manu and Yāgñavalkya permitted the use of the flesh of cow for food. The name of Dr. Bhandarkar and the auspices under which he lectured are sufficient guarantee of the excellence of scholarship and the value of the material contained in them and we have no doubt that this volume will be sought after with great interest by all students of ancient Indian culture.

P. B. R.

The Munro System of British Statesmanship in India. (By K. N. Venkatasubba Sastry, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S. Published by the University of Mysore, Mysore.)

THIS excellent work of Dr. K. N. V. Sastry published by the University of Mysore with a Foreword from the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, scholar, statesman and patriot, is an attempt to assess with the aid of contemporary and later documents, the services rendered by Munro to England and India. Some of the documents are printed for the first time and all are chosen with discernment and conviction. They place Munro as the founder of the liberal school of Indian administration, *par excellence.* Munro was more than the founder of the ryotwari system; his name had passed on to legends; his compassion, his understanding of the Indians and their modes of life, his magnanimous and his sleepless efforts to help the 'natives of the soil' are well worthy of

imitation by his countrymen. Dr. Sastry, as suggested even in the Foreword, does not lack in hero-worship or enthusiasm in the praise of his ideal; but it is a pardonable pride in the facts and circumstances of the case. For the administration of Munro deserves all that: however, it is a far cry from Munro who regarded liberty of the press as extinct in the Company's foreign rule to the modern times and there could never be an echo of it in the mind of him who was responsible for the Declaration of August 1917. Nevertheless, to have hailed the emergence of high principle when nothing was yet clear on the horizon of Indian governance, to have formulated the aim of British Policy as the ultimate good of the Indian people when that policy was still strongly coloured by mercantile standards and to have secured recognition in the Character Act of 1813 and indirectly in that of 1833 for many corner-stones in the edifice of Empire—that is a title to imperishable fame.

Munro's ideas may be found in the Bara-mahal records in the Zilla Dictionary. He avoided using force if possible: he would like to lower the assessment to conform actually to past collections: he was anxious for the prosperity of the ryots and desired a moderate land rent: he was opposed to frequent alterations in it: he wanted direct settlement with the actual land-holder without middle men. Assessments should have reference to lands in actual cultivation, with remissions during famine. There must be a right of adjudication of individual ryots and the collectors must be responsible: there must be essential justice and there must be freedom for people to follow their respective avocations: native servants should be encouraged: army must have its place but subordinate to civil authorities. He viewed Indian questions with a fresh mind, feeling apparently that a good government led to self-government, that is a government by them for themselves under European supervision which according to him was an excellent one. Macaulay said: " I observe with reverence and delight the honourable poverty which is the evidence of a rectitude firmly maintained amidst strong temptations and Colonel Munro of Madras, who knew the people of India

probably better than any one of his contemporaries, asserted the truth, which was then almost a heresy to most of the Company's servants." The Index is copious, the Bibliography is full and the work is very carefully and intelligently prepared.

S. S.

The Travancore Tribes and Castes, Vol. II. (By L. A. Krishna Iyer, M.A., Superintendent, Government Press, Trivandrum.)

VOLUME ONE was a valuable contribution on the lines of inquiry set on foot by Risley, Census Commissioner in India, nearly forty years ago, and the present completes the task then undertaken. *Anthropological Researches in India* by Baron Van Eickstedt, in his very interesting Introduction, deserves special mention. In pre-Christian periods Indian races of the Deccan are rarely referred to. For the first time Herodotus speaks of dark coloured and curly haired warriors from South India apparently having in mind the Tamils of the Melanid race. Till the eighteenth century any knowledge of India outside was based mainly on the reports of foreign travellers. In the nineteenth century, detailed work and some kind of investigation started. There has never been found real Andamanese Negritoes in India, though one of the basic elements of the Malids and Negritoes may well have a common root, and there have never been Australians in India though in India as everywhere else races went in their process of development through an australiform stage and the characteristic of a certain old stage of descent must not be confounded with those of a recent biological type. Such and similar observations in these volumes are well worth bearing in mind by students of Ethnology and Anthropology. In India there is a great need for us to study the Homo-indicus, the melanids and the jungle-dwellers, by a study of whose racial structure and language alone their origin could be solved satisfactorily or with some certainty. Risley's classification of Indian races is as follows :

(i) Turko-Iranian type, (ii) Indo-Āryan type, (iii) Scytho-Dravidian type, (iv) Āryo-Dravidian or Hindustani type, (v) Mongolo-Dravidian or Bengali type, (vi) Mongolid type and (vii) Dravidian type. The beginning of the twentieth century unfolded the fact that philological speculations were no longer tenable in racial classification and typological units and men were measured and treated not only as exhibits of a linguistic phenomenon but as men and culture began to break away from the study of Sanskrit and slowly one perceived that āryanising of India, though an event of enduring significance in the linguistic sphere, was in the cultural sphere only a transitory process with an inner dynamic of its own which gradually brought the original people and also the old races almost completely to the top again. So it is said that a thin Āryan culture veener alone remains today over the true old Indian culture which does not know the worship of the Āryan gods and teaches the worship of its own and old Dravidian gods. The questions which arise generally for consideration may be said to be these :—

What anthropological rôle is played in India by the so-called jungle tribes; how far did and does their expansions reach, what somatical characteristics and which types do they exhibit ? Can genuine Mongolid admixtures be found in the north-west Deccan, of which racial components are those composed, and which linguistic and cultured relations do they show ? Do the dark South Indians show an admixture of Negro or Negrito traits, and what is their biological relation to the northern Indian groups ? Which typological racial division can be got after this for the whole sub-continent and in which relation do the great typological units stand to the linguistic and cultural facts, particularly to the Dravidian languages and those who originally spoke of them ? The interesting answers to these can be read with profit in the pages of the work under review.

S. S.

Indian States and Responsible Government. (By K. R. R. Sastry, Reader, Law Department, Allahabad University, Allahabad. Price Rs. 5 Inland ; 7*s*. 6*d*. Foreign).

THE work before us is dedicated to the Rt. Hon'ble Sir T. B. Sapru, a distinguished scholar, a perfect gentleman, an eminent lawyer and a veteran statesman. In the tesselated pavement of the Indian Empire the Indian States form the tesseræ and any union or federation of an intervening type could not be evolved and constituted without the Indian States forming a component part. There are practical difficulties in bringing Indian States on one uniform formula in an Indian federation ; and likewise there are practical difficulties in having a British Indian province of the federation placed on an equal footing along with the others with respect to administration, finance, defence, and many other matters which would be too complicated to develop. This book attempts at an analysis of the difficulties underlying the Indian federation of the future. We have no doubt that with progressive administrations in the Indian States and reformed legislatures as in Mysore, Cochin, Travancore, Baroda and recently in Aundh it ought not to be difficult in shedding mediæval autocracy and forming a type of modern democratic State, joining hand in hand with the British Indian provinces in an All-India federation.

S. S.

Sarkarism. (By Subodha Krishna Goshal, M.A. Published by Messrs. Chuckervertty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Re. 0–8–0.)

SARKARISM is a brochure on the ideas and ideals of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, on man and his conquests and based on lectures delivered at Suhrit Library and elsewhere. The discussions of the ideas contained in the book would take us outside the scope and limits of this Journal.

S. S.

Nādi Jyothisha or The Stellar System of Astrology. (By Meena. Copies can be had of C. R. Srinivasa Rao, Satya-vijayanagaram P.O., Arni, S.I.R. Price Rs. 2.)

AFTER some preliminary introduction concerning the science of Astrology, we are assisted by the author in casting the birth chart, calculating the balance of the Dasa, fixing the Lagna and determining the Bhāvas of the horoscope so cast. The Navāmsas are then discussed and we are afterwards told of the circumstances in which the planets give results benefic or malefic to the native. Chapter four is important as indicating how the bhāvas should be examined. Nādi granthas contain astrological charts cast by famous astrologers with an insight into the knowledge of the circumstances determining the planetary and stellar influence on human beings. The author's note on Lagna *sphuta* from *nakṣatra*, *vāra* and *lagna* is helpful like the work to the ordinary layman is obtaining a working knowledge of the science of Astrology. It is hoped the second volume which the author proposes to bring out very soon will still further enhance the value and usefulness of the science for ordinary persons. The dedication to Sri Raghothama Theertha whose *chela* the author claims to be is apt.

N. I.

SANSKRIT

The Unādi Sūtras in Various Recensions. (*Madras University Sanskrit Series*, No. 7. Edited by T. R. Chintamani. Price Rs. 4-0-0.)

THIS is the fourth part of the *Unādi Sutras in Various Recensions* published for the first time and edited by the editor, with the assistance of Bramhasri Rao Bahadur S. K. Padmanabha Sastrigal. The editor is of opinion that there are similar commentaries between Perusuri and that of Jñanendra Sarasvati on the Unādi portion of the Kaumudi and that each of these had looked into the works of the other. The critical edition indicates the difference in the readings of the texts. The commentaries are in metrical form. The author takes us

through all the processes of derivation citing the *sutras* on which a particular *prakriya* is based: further the author attempts to give the forms that could be derived from the word, whose derivation is sought to be explained in the *sutra* and the author has succeeded in his scheme.

S. S.

Kaśyapasaṁhitā. (By Vriddhajivaka. Edited by Vaidya Jādavjī Trikamjī Āchārya and Somanāth Śarmā of Nepal. *Nepāl Sanskrit Series* No. 1. Published by Jadavji Trikamji Ācharya, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.)

THE text is based on a palm leaf manuscript recovered in fragments by the editors; the first eighteen and the closing chapters are wanting to complete this work. Even in the parts available a large number of verses wholly or in part is lost and the editors have not found it easy to restore the missing words or lines. The elaborated and scholarly introduction traces the development of Indian Medicine during twenty-five centuries, illustrating how India was in the vanguard of civilization and led the way in the healing art. Though fragmentary this work which covers a very large field is bound to be useful to Indian doctors.

P. S. L.

Ṛg Vēdavyākhyāya of Mādhavakṛtā. (Edited by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Litt. Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras.)

THAT eminent Sanskritist Dr. Kunhan Raja has edited for the Adyar Library *Ṛg Vēda Vyākhya* of Mādhavakṛta which has its own merit and it would be somewhat of an impertinence to say anything about the work. Who is this Mādhava who claims to be the author of *Ṛg Vēdavyākhyāya*? He is not Mādhava the son of Venkataraya who has written a commentary on the Ṛg Vēda and who has also written another commentary called *Ṛgārthadīpika.* What is the date of this commentary? These are intriguing questions on which unfortunately light is still

to shed. We hope Prof. Kunhan Raja will find it possible to fix up these problems for us.

S. S.

KANNADA

Pragatipara Mysūru—(By C. K. Jayasimha Rao, Mysore.)

THIS handy and useful tract in Kannda marks the remarkable progress of Mysore through the last fifteen years under the statesmanship of Sir Mirza M. Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, during whose administration Mysore has advanced from strength to strength. Got up by a young and enterprising Mysorean, deserves every encouragement.

S. S.

TAMIL

Boudhamum Tamilum. (By M. S. Venkataswamy, 59, Karneesverer Street, Myalpore, Madras. Price Rs. 1–8–0.)

THE purpose of this work is to give a brief, critical account of the rise, growth and decline of Buddhism in the Tamil land. Having had something to do with Buddhism in Mysore, I can visualise the difficulties of an author in a work of this kind. All available sources, philological, literary, historical, epigraphical and archæological are made use of to portray the glory of Buddhism in South India in mediæval times. The Buddhist period ranged in the Tamil country from the time of Aśoka to the twelfth century A.D. and the message of the Buddha spread from Kañcīpuram all round. The book describes the seventeen Buddhist centres of learning which eventually passed into the hands of the Hindus when Buddhism disappeared from the land by the Hindus absorbing its essential doctrines, by adopting its worship of the Banyan tree, by organising *maṭhās* and by developing and establishing the Advaita system of philosophy. It was a land where about twenty-four enlightened Buddhist personages flourished from time to time spreading

the gospel and encouraging the mother-tongue. Six Buddhist works in Tamil considered classic are referred to and quotations from the commentaries of Virasolya and Nilakeśi are given in an appendix, showing how Buddha inspired at that distant time universal respect from all Tamil people. The influence of Pāli on the Tamil language is also discussed. The appendices which nearly occupy half the size of the book are carefully prepared to illustrate the subject-matter of the work, a remarkable contribution supplying a gap in the field of the Tamil Nād.

P. S. L.

Divyasuri Caritam. (By V. Srinivasachariar. Edited and Published by K. Devanathachariar, "Tulasi Bhavan," Chamarajapet, Bangalore City. Price Rs. 3.)

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